



LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.
GIFT OF
Mrs. SARAH P. WALSWORTH.

Received October, 1894.

Accessions No. 58098. Class No.

4.

15.

16.

17.

18.

19.

20.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

1009 5th Ave. New York, N.Y.

Acquired from the collection of

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

1009 5th Ave. New York, N.Y.

Livingston County High Sch

**FREE MAN'S
COMPANION;**

A NEW AND ORIGINAL WORK,

CONSISTING OF NUMEROUS

MORAL, POLITICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWS, EXAMPLES AND

EXPLANATIONS,

TENDING TO ILLUSTRATE THE GENERAL CAUSE OF

TRUTH, JUSTICE, VIRTUE, LIBERTY, AND HUMAN IMPROVEMENT;

AND TO

EXPOSE, CONTRAST AND DEFEAT THE SYSTEMS, POLICIES AND

CONDUCT OF A

CONTRARY AND FATAL TENDENCY.

LIBERTY has *crept* and *cringed*, long enough—It is high time she stood *upright* and boldly maintained her true dignity and **INDEPENDENCE**.

CIVILIOUS.

HARTFORD,

PUBLISHED BY ABEL BREWSTER.

P. CANFIELD, PRINTER.

.....
1827.



H N 61
T 7

58098

DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, ss.

Be it remembered, That on the thirteenth day of September, in the fifty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, Abel Brewster, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as author and proprietor in the words following, to wit : " Free Man's Companion ; a new and original work, consisting of numerous moral, political and philosophical views, examples and explanations, tending to illustrate the general cause of truth, justice, virtue, liberty, and human improvement ; and to expose, contrast and defeat the systems, policies and conduct of a contrary and fatal tendency,"—in conformity to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled " An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,"—And also to the act, entitled, " An act supplementary to an act, entitled ' An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

CHAS. A. INGERSOLL,

Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

A true copy of Record, examined and sealed by me,

CHAS. A. INGERSOLL,

Clerk of the District of Connecticut.



PREFACE.

IN offering this volume to the public, it is unnecessary to say much in the preface. The work mainly answers for itself. The matter has been the production of an arduous and sincere devotion to the general cause of truth and human happiness.

Whatever errors may have occurred, in the selection of subjects, in the arrangement of matter, or in the reasoning indulged on the same, only requires pointing out, by fair and manly explanation and argument, to be acknowledged and corrected in a future edition. But what has been said in truth and reason, it is hoped may be duly appreciated and regarded.

Perhaps the language, in some instances, may be considered too strong to suit weak or diseased palates ; but if this should prove the case, it will be observed, that it was not the design of this undertaking, to *nurse* the vices or follies of mankind—but to enlighten the ignorant ; to caution the unwary ; to strengthen and confirm the virtuous ; and to detect and defeat error.

Brevity, and the use of plain language, has been studied in the composition ; so as to render the matter comprehensible to people of common talents and information, without being tedious or obscure. Possibly it may be too brief, on some subjects, to satisfy a judicious inquiry ; if so, the matter may be improved in a future edition.

By pursuing the volume through, the reader will find many inquiries that may arise, from the perusal of a separate article, set-

bled by matter in others. Different subjects mutually assist in explaining and extending the information of each other.

Society is made up of a great variety of different professions, occupations, characters, habits, interests and conditions of life, each of which have their peculiar qualities, inclinations, connections, bearings and final results. In order to effect an actual *improvement* in the great moral and political condition of a nation or people, these parts should be examined separately, and then the whole viewed in operation together. The same as a skilful and judicious mechanic, engineer, or builder, examine their materials, and arrange, proportion and construct their work and designs, to produce the most perfect and desired result, and in the best possible manner.

Perhaps it would be impossible, to avoid the injurious prejudices of weak minds, and the unjust and deceptive constructions and imputations of interested and evil minded adversaries : it is however the good, and the approbation of the common people—chiefly the American farmers and mechanics, that is here particularly sought and desired.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
Truth,	9
Prejudice,	10
Education,	12
Freedom of Speech,	13
Disinterested Actions,	16
Monopolies,	17
Party,	18
Charity,	21
Novels,	23
Public Schools,	26
Philosophical Debating Societies,	28
Chief Cause of Virtue and Vice,	31
Pillars of a Republic,	34
Remarks on the Acquisition of Property,	34
Indolence inclined to Despotism,	35
Honesty the Best Policy,	36
Honour,	38
Justice,	39
War,	40
Slavery,	43
Distinctions of Birth,	44
Credit,	44
Commerce,	46
Fine-spun Arguments,	48
Public Celebrations,	49
Costly Local Monuments,	50
Duelling, or the Club Law,	50
Civilization,	52
Kingcraft,	55
Ruling Principles of Different Governments,	60
Human Improvement,	67
Effects of Habit,	69
Fool,	70
Lying,	72
Monarchy in Disguise,	73
The Press, and its Allurements,	79
Newspapers,	83
Public Sentinel,	88

	Page
Literary Craft,	205
Old Family Compacts,	209
Systems of Religion,	210
Medical Craft,	211
Religious and Political Reviews,	213
Rogues' Policy,	216
A Hypocrite,	218
Robbers in Disguise,	221
Equality of Prices for Nominally the same Personal Services,	222
Satan's Tax Gatherer,	224
Speculating Nobility,	225
Balance of Power,	228
Caucus System,	229
Sovereignty of the People,	231
Improvements in Legislation,	232
Mercy,	233
Litigation,	234
Keeping Justice Off,	237
Terrors of Law,	239
Most Honourable Profession,	240
Contempt of Court,	242
Court of Chancery,	242
Common Law,	243
Independent Judiciary,	247
Law-craft,	251
Samples of Law-craft, No. 1,	261
No. 2,	264
Interest and Duty of Freemen,	272
General Policy and Fruits of a System of Bankruptcy,	275
Conversations between a Monarchist and a Republican,	276
Political Reflections, No. 1,	302
No. 2,	309
The Policy of Satan,	314
Brief General Remarks on a Variety of Subjects.	315

ERRATA.

The reader will please correct the following errors, which escaped the press :

- 13th page, near the middle, for exert in them, read, excites in them
- 14th 8th line from bottom, for plausible, read peaceable
- 23rd for interestingly, read interestedly
- 242 15th for deserving, read discerning
- 369 near the middle, for arts are base, read acts are base.



TRUTH.

WE are generally inclined, at first thought—from the natural sincerity of the human senses, to consider those who flatter and deceive us, as our *friends*, and those who tell us the *truth*, as our enemies: but, surely, no one can wish to *be deceived*—although they may wish to deceive others. Hence it is plain, if you are my *friend*, you will tell me the truth—if not, you'll deceive me.

That person, who is offended at merely the truth, must be weak, or wicked, indeed.

Knaves and tyrants dread the truth, because it exposes their wickedness and deformity.

By encouraging others to tell us the truth, concerning ourselves, it enables one *to know himself*.

Truth never injured any ones real character; but error has robbed thousands, and of that which is far more precious than silver or gold.

Truth is the noblest attribute of human virtue and wisdom—the guardian of justice and humanity; and the foe to fraud, oppression and cruelty.

The general *principles* of truth, are self-evident, immutable and eternal; and, properly regarded, they have a powerful tendency to exalt the human character to happiness and glory. But error has no principle. It is a mere fiction, the fruits of ignorance, or the artifice of vice; and which generally leads men downwards to darkness and misery.

The mode of truth, is light, simple and easy; but the fashion of error, is dark, crooked and complex. It is even within the capacity of a child, to tell the truth, when he knows it; but it often baffles the skill of an unprincipled and experienced lawyer, to find a *substitute* for truth.

There can be only *one* true account, given of any particular matter, transaction or circumstance; but a thousand partial or er-

roneous statements may be made of the same, and much learning employed to embellish and render them plausible or pleasing.

Truth needs no apology ; but error requires all the arts of sophistry to give it currency.

Confirmed bigots and designing knaves, hypocritically cry beware of PHILOSOPHY, because philosophy is the light of the world, *the key to truth*, the actual science of reasoning, whereby the *cause* and *effect* are correctly ascertained, and error and hypocrisy detected.

Truth, like the light of the sun, banishes the creatures of darkness and superstition.

Error vanishes like the phantoms of a dream, on inspection ; but truth shines forth in all its glory.

The fool marvels at the mysterious darkness and complexity of error, and confides in what he cannot comprehend ; but the wise man admires truth for its simplicity, consistency and usefulness, and pities or despises those who disregard it.

Prejudice.

PREJUDICE, is principally imbibed by education ; and those who have the chief management of education, are most inclined to impose on their fellow beings. Learned men, for the most part, combine to keep the common people *ignorant*—to let them have no information, only such as forms them for the purpose of subordination, imposition and slavery.

Prejudice is a *tyrant* of the human understanding—that blinds men, and often makes the best disposed, *counteract*, even that which they most desire success. Hence men blunder into unwise measures—monarchy and slavery ; and three fourths of the world are already shackled with chains of *their own forging*.—(Is man, indeed, any where enslaved or degraded, and he hath not done it himself ? Who is there on this globe, to persecute or tyrannise over man, except his fellow man ?)

The powers of prejudice, when contrasted, are truly wonderful : when ones prejudice is inclined *against* a person or character,

jealousy magnifies a mite to a monster, and he criticises *only to find fault*; but when our prejudices are in *favour* of an object, charity's mild influence reduces every thing offensive to a mere shadow, and we seek *only to commend and approve*. And there is few persons or characters under heaven, but may be censured, or approved, in numerous instances.

Nothing perhaps shows the powers of prejudice more clearly, than the opinions entertained of *the same act, in different countries*. For instance, *self-murder*, is considered one of the most odious offences, in christian countries; but such is their opinion in Hindostan, that the surviving widow of a deceased husband, abandons her tender offspring, and *voluntarily burns to death*, in the full faith that she shall inherit eternal bliss *for the deed*!

Suppose two persons, of equal abilities, and of similar dispositions—one of whom should hear the evidence and pleadings of *only one* of the parties, (plaintiff or defendant,) as they are usually employed in a complicated suit at law, and the other person should hear *only* the opposite evidence and pleadings—would they not differ in their opinions on the merits of the case? Such is the case of those, who read or hear, *only one side*.

“If every body would hear and believe me,” says unprincipled ambition, “I would soon *ride on the top*.”

Men who read or hear both sides, do not always judge fairly, for mankind are too apt to form opinions, and then seek only such information as pleases them and strengthens the prejudices already contracted. Hence men of violent tempers and strong passions, frequently get their prejudices so clinched, as to *strangle* reason, and absolutely *set truth at defiance*! Such people may be truly said to commit violence on their own understandings.

It is disagreeable to hear our own faults and errors; although nothing is more generally beneficial to mankind, than to *know the truth*.

Every man is naturally inclined to consider his own acts or opinions, as wise or *consistent*.

It is very difficult to reason with prejudice—it may be conquered by stratagem or surprise.

The following story may serve to illustrate the subject. Some

fifty years ago, or better, an old man, manifesting his attachment to ancient customs, by the singular antiquity of his dress, and the equipage of his horse, standing out at the door of his house, in the country, and just in the act of putting *a large round stone* into the mouth of a bag to *balance* a bushel of grain on horse-back, to be carried to mill, an enlightened and friendly gentleman who happened to be passing by at the moment, very civilly accosted the old man, to know why he did not divide the grain in the bag and let it *balance itself*, and so avoid the necessity of carrying the great stone : at which the old man replied, with an air manifesting his contempt of his adviser, "*Do you think you know more than me, my father, and my grandfather before me ? WE HAVE ALL CARRIED THAT SAME STONE !*"

When we reflect on the facility with which man harnesses and drives about, large animals of the brute creation, vastly his superiors in bodily strength, we often feel a degree of pity for the ignorance of the poor brutes ; but when we behold *millions* of rational beings, reduced to the lowest servitude and degradation—subject to the will of a single fellow being, our astonishment is complete—until we comprehend the powers of *prejudice*, that *tyrant* of the human understanding.

Education.

NATURE endows men with genius or talents, and art or education cultivates and expands them. It is not to be presumed that a man is good, just, virtuous and well disposed, merely because he has had an education ; but frequently the contrary.

The means which education furnishes men with to commit fraud, and to avoid detection and punishment, are often strong excitements to acts of injustice and cruelty. Education sometimes furnishes men with

"skill to grace,
A devil's purpose with an Angel's face."

Education, especially that which is confined to polite or *fash-*

ionable accomplishments, is too often directed to arts of hypocrisy and oppression ; instead of cultivating and expanding the virtuous and useful faculties and propensities of the body and mind. The youth of both sexes, often fancy themselves wonderfully *accomplished*, when they can successfully disguise an evil disposition, or bad complexion ; the loss of virtue, or the lack of money or an ample fortune.

Learned men frequently seem to think better of fraud, committed *learnedly*, than of a virtuous deed performed clumsily or *without ceremony*.

Men of education generally seem to have a kind of *sympathy* for the fortunes and feelings of those of their own standing or condition in society ; while they often treat with indifference or contempt, the wrongs and sufferings of those, who are unable to remonstrate or state their cases in what is termed “ respectful language.”

Liberal educations, as they are usually termed, do not give men liberal *minds* ; but too often puff them up with hypocritical and vain ideas of their own worth and consequence, and ~~exert~~ ^{exalt} in them a kind of hankering for *extra privileges*.

(Every man is learned, in what he knows—but ignorant of every thing else. A person the most learned in law, divinity, or the like, frequently appears like a novice, in *a tinker's shop*.)

Freedom of Speech.

REPUBLICANS, should be bold, manly and ingenuous, in their investigations. Sophistry and quibbling becomes the creeping slaves of bigotry and despotism.

The freedom of speech is the very *soul* of liberty ; without which there can be no such thing as just, rational or manly privileges.

No persons should ever be punished, or harmed for what they had written or said, without the clearest evidence of malice, and an intention to injure, without any reasonable or just cause of resentment ; and then, generally, not until they had been duly noti-

fied of the offence, and allowed fair time and a reasonable opportunity to retract or correct themselves, as far as practicable, by peaceable means.

I have known many serious lawsuits, for alleged violations of the freedom of the press, or privileges of speech ; three fourths of which evidently originated in treachery or malice ; and were eventually productive of, perhaps ten times the evil consequences to society, as the alleged offences—by exciting and indulging treachery, revenge, persecution and oppression, and spreading the contagion of human depravity and misery, far and wide.

And after all, the public will believe just as they please about the matter written or uttered. A legal decision does not always alter the case. A wrong verdict may have been procured by false swearing, or other erroneous evidence, or through the secret and extraordinary arts, interests, designs and management of the court, or lawyers ; or it may have happened through the prejudice, ignorance, fear, or even treachery, of a jury. It might also result from accidental causes, in bringing forward evidence ; a defendant may not have been able to *prove* all that he had said in truth.

It has not been uncommon for unprincipled men, when their conduct or character has been exposed, and they think the facts cannot be *proved*, to make a mighty bluster, and perhaps appeal to *law*—especially when against one whom the *court* and *lawyers* desire to sacrifice ! Some times this is done to get a person's money wrongfully, or to indulge a persecuting and oppressive disposition, or policy, in order to intimidate and overawe honest men, or silence them against knaves, hypocrites and tyrants, by the *quibbles*, *quirks* and *terrors* of *LAWCRAFT*.

It is very seldom necessary to appeal to *law*, in defence of ones real character, for there is generally a ^{reasonable} ~~plausible~~, and pretty sure way of refuting falsehood, and of repelling scandal, that is within the power of most people ; and which is far preferable to any protection the laws afford us, generally, and particularly taking their present obscure, tedious, vexatious, expensive and *uncertain* issue, into full consideration.

Falsehood and scandal often *defeat themselves*, by their malignance and inconsistency ; and at other times, simply to deny a false

charge, is sufficient to render it harmless, or repel it against its author. It is generally a pretty true saying, that,

“*Let envy alone, and it will PUNISH ITSELF.*”

Every printer who publishes a false and defamatory charge, should be legally bound to insert a confutation or reply, if offered, and particularly if *required* by the injured party ; so that the antidote might retrace the poison in the same channel in which it originated, or as nigh so as practicable.

To write or print, openly, what one has to say on any subject of public notoriety or importance, so that their exact words and meaning cannot easily be denied, or misunderstood, is infinitely more fair and honorable, than to circulate the same by secret or verbal reports, subject to boundless additions, alterations and equivocations. What is said openly and definitely of a person, may be met and contradicted or refuted, if false ; but who can reach the bane of *secret* falsehood, which often preys upon its intended victim like a cancer nigh the heart, out of sight and the reach of remedies.—It robs you in the dark, and then sets the premises on fire to conceal the escape of the cowardly and infamous assassin.*

Fools and knaves dread the general freedom of speech, because it has a tendency to expose their weakness and depravity.

* When Job's envious neighbours defamed him, during his awful reverse of fortune, he exclaimed, “O, that mine enemy had written a book”—ardently and honorably wishing, thereby, that they had *written* their charges against him, instead of verbally giving vent to the same—that he might have fairly met and confuted them. This is the only plain and reasonable construction the matter admits of ; and yet, some, from a dread of such a custom—a fear of having their own unjust or infamous conduct or policy brought to light, through the definite, loud speaking and durable language of the press, endeavour, hypocritically, to stigmatize such a custom—as if it really was a reproach of ignorance and folly, for a person to write or print openly, manfully and fairly, what they think proper to promulgate or make public against others.

Note :—The article we now call *book*, was not known when the history of Job was written. A bit of bark or skin written upon and *rolled* up, was called a *book*. So that any considerable and distinct piece of writing, might then have been termed “a *book*.”

(Speak the truth out, boldly, and *fear not*, and eternal infamy be on those who would abridge the common freedom.)

There is always a fair presumption, of those who wish to entangle, *intimidate*, cramp or destroy the general freedom of speech, or of the press, that their policy and conduct will not bear the light of truth and public inspection.

Disinterested Actions.

WE certainly mistake mankind, and thereby often subject ourselves to the various hypocritical arts and designs of intriguing politicians, and other unprincipled persons, when we give credit to their various *disinterested* pretensions.

Self-love, is obviously the ruling passion of man ; and, because we do not always comprehend the *motives* that influence or control human actions, is no evidence that mankind *act without motives*. For my part, I frankly confess I feel a controlling impulse that rules me throughout all my voluntary transactions. This moment while I write, I feel a desire to do good, and defeat evil—that I may participate in the former, and avoid the latter.

The better the deed, the greater the motive in performing of it, with a sensible and good man.

The vigilant and upright judge, has the *honor* and *emolument* of his office, constantly in view.

Even the Holy Scriptures, promise a reward of *fourfold*, for whatever is given in charity to the poor.

Dis-interest, really has no other practical meaning, than to say, *no interest* ; and, if it be proper in any sense of the word, to say that a man acts *disinterestedly*, it must be in cases where he is indifferent—don't care a cent, or has no *direct* interest. But, directly, or indirectly, a man must have some interested motives, in order to act as an intelligent and rational, or consistent being.

It is, indeed, both dangerous and absurd, to suppose that men are *disinterested*, in the voluntary transactions of life.

Every rational being, certainly *conceits* he shall derive a benefit, or satisfaction, directly or indirectly, by every considerable act which he intentionally performs ; and when we seek our own hap-

piness, in a manner consistent with the general good of society, in a moral and political point of view, we clearly perform all that is required of us, either as christians, or good citizens. It is SELF CONSISTENT WITH THE WHOLE.

Hence, women and children, sensible of their own weak and defenceless condition, are generally the first to appeal to the laws of humanity. It has also been the policy of weak or defenceless states, to encourage humane treatment to prisoners of war, and others in the power of hostile nations or commanders.

Humanity is nevertheless a noble impulse, and the more honorable to those, who have it in their power *to be tyrants with impunity*, as it manifests their rule of virtue and reason.

We should therefore learn to calculate, and to understand the probable *motives* that influence or control the particular professions, and actions of our fellow beings.

Monopolies.

MONOPOLIES, like tigers, in their infancy, seem innocent or harmless ; but when full grown, like tyrants, they little regard the cries of justice and humanity.

Some men unite their powers and efforts, to promote the public good, and to support their natural and just rights ; and some there are, who combine their talents *to set the rights of others at defiance.*

Tyranny, by whomsoever exercised, and under whatever name it may exist, consists, simply in compelling others to do *that which justice and reason forbids.*

A tyrannical government, is only a combination of monopolies, commanding the necessities of life, and abridging the freedom of speech, and actions, necessary to the pursuit of human happiness.

I think I see the hand of *craft*, under a variety of plausible, and even *charitable* forms and pretensions, already busily fabricating these fatal engines of tyranny, in this celebrated land of liberty.

Party.

PARTY, like *bile*, agitates all its subjects from one extreme to the other, and *neutralizes* the product; or, as the extremes of weather renovates and tests the soundness of the human constitution, so does the variety of views and opinions entertained in society, tend to enlighten mankind, and to expose the truth of men and measures: and, although they are all disagreeable in *extremes*, yet they are, on the whole, necessary and important.

Under free government, human passions are vented in frequent, and light *flashes* and *breezes*, without effecting any material injury to the great body of society; but where the iron hand of despotism stifles the voice of truth and the cries of suffering humanity, (as in the calm of despotism,) pain engenders *secret indignation*, until it bursts forth, like the fiery lava from Mount Etna and Vesuvius, overrunning countries and kingdoms, by turns.

Were there no difference in the views and opinions entertained in society, there would be no discussion—and soon no liberty.—Discussion is the very *pruning-hook* of liberty, that plucks up the weeds of aristocracy, and lops off the useless and unhealthy shoots and branches.

Who indeed would dare, or even what individual *could* effectually expose the wrong actions and unprincipled designs of men in power, without the aid and support of a considerable and active party.

It is not more wonderful that mankind should differ in opinions, than in looks; and especially when they get their information from so different and partial sources, as they too generally do.

Nine-tenths of mankind, at least, have the same general object in view; and the only reason why they do not unite more cordially in pursuit, is, *they are deceived*. Those who wish to monopolize the fruits of *others* labor, unite in schemes and efforts to blind, confuse, mislead, and if possible to HUSTLE the common people out of their rights and liberties.

The chief object of party strife, should be, EXCELLENCE IN PATRIOTIC DEEDS—efforts to excel each other in good principles and practices—the efficient promotion of human improvement—

the perfection of human happiness : not persecution, deception, or relaxing the laws to injustice, to gratify envy, avarice, or revenge, or to gain a momentary and party triumph. The former would exalt mankind, by exciting and cultivating the noblest impulse and faculties of human nature ; while the latter gives excitement and scope to the vilest passions, and tends to degrade man, even below the brutes.

The main object of contention among mankind, may be generally summed up in two words—*right* and *wrong*. The common people say, “ give us our natural and just RIGHTS, and we are satisfied ;” but men of unprincipled and despotic minds, cry, “ give us POWER, and we will soon *fix* every thing to our minds !”

Extreme party spirit, evinces a depraved, contracted, or heedless understanding.

To proscribe or persecute a man for an honest difference of opinion, is *despotism*, in the extreme, and ought to be abhorred by every friend of mankind.

That germ of liberty, which has been engrafted and preserved in the British government, by the exertions of a spirited and truly wonderful people, has, to a degree, maintained the freedom of the press, and trial by jury, and otherwise contributed, greatly, to the general prosperity and glory of that nation.* It was, indeed, this

* These two essential agents of justice and human liberty—the liberty of the press, and trial by jury, have been so tortured and hampered by their designing foes, as only to have partially performed their several duties.

As to the freedom of *election* in Britain, I consider it little more than a mere farce, since it is only partial, in its professed indulgence ; and is unprotected against the bribery and corruption of a wealthy and overbearing monarchy and aristocracy combined.

They have indeed made laws, professedly for the protection of elections against bribery and corruption ; but the glaring manner in which these laws are evaded and set at defiance, shows plainly the hostility of their chief national rulers, to this branch of republican freedom. That is, the monarch and his aristocratic liege, have *relinquished*, (by *compulsion*,) a degree of usurped authority over the people, and professedly made laws for protecting them in the full exercise and enjoyment of the same, and then, indirectly licensed and employed agents and other means to prevent them from getting actual possession !

good impulse that drove our forefathers from the bigotry, persecution and oppression of those who ruled the old world, to seek an asylum for oppressed humanity in this new world, and finally to lay the foundation for this Christian and republican community, out of the immediate reach of despotic governments.

There is often a wide difference between the *people* and the *government* of a country. While the British *government* were using their despotic and utmost power to *crush* the noble spirit of virtue, justice and human liberty, that was growing in this country, and were actually exciting and employing *savages* and foreign mercenaries to butcher our inhabitants and lay waste the country, *the people* of the mother country were mainly, it is believed, in fellow feelings with us.

But this is not all the glaring hostility manifested by the British sovereign and his privileged participators, against the people. The house of lords, who are the creatures, tools and participators, of the sovereign power, receive an annual PENSION, from "*the crown*," while the people's representatives, (part of the members of the house of commons, the only branch in which they have any choice,) are neither allowed *pay* nor *support*, from government, for their official services: that is, the *sovereign* and his *privileged creatures*, are extravagantly pensioned, but *the people's agents*, are neither allowed pay nor support! Besides, there is no *justice* or *equality*, in the qualifications of electors, nor in their apportionment or representation, in the different districts or sections of country. By which the sovereign and his liege, seem to say to the people, "*Hang ye*—you clamorous, rebellious and vulgar dogs! if *we must* give you a degree of republican freedom, in a lower house of legislation, you shall be subject to as much inequality, unfairness and corruption, as possible, in the location and choice of your representatives, in order to defeat your choice, in the first place, and then to buy over those you make choice of, for our use and convenience."

It is said that a man may spend a fortune to get into the house of commons, and notwithstanding he is neither allowed *pay* nor *support*, for his services, come out with more money than he expended in getting elected. This is probably effected by the selling of his vote to the ministry, or others, and by various other corrupt exercises of his power, secret intelligence, influence and situation.

Charity.

THE term *charity*, seems often misunderstood, or its practical sense perverted or misapplied : for instance, if A. has the “charity to believe,” (as the term is usually applied,) that his neighbour B. is innocent of a particular charge, of which B. is in fact guilty, it is no evidence of A.’s virtue, but rather of *his ignorance of B.’s offence* ; for virtue is an active intelligence.

Acts, as well as professions of apparent charity, are often dictated by the most wicked policy—namely, to *seduce* the innocent and unsuspecting, or to *screen* the guilty from suspicion, detection or punishment.

Truly then, charity *covereth* (not cancels) a multitude of sins. But how does it cover them, from detection or punishment, the same as a *cloak* often conceals the truth from our view ? or as artifice or power, screens the offender from justice ? How then, shall we judge of apparent charity, without knowing the *motive* that dictates or controls the action ?

Unprincipled men are perpetually striving, by a variety of little arts and affectations, to extend human confidence in *external appearances*, in order to divert our attention and inspection from their *motives*—the real source of human actions ; and ultimately to favor the accomplishment of their crooked designs and purposes.

There certainly can be no harm in looking well to the policy, or chief *motives* that dictate and control human actions.

Thousands and millions of virtuous and worthy people have been ruined or injured, by putting *too much* confidence in the hypocritical actions and pretensions of others.

An honest man, is not only willing, but often anxious to have his conduct examined into, and his transactions and motives truly understood ; but a rogue is alarmed at the mere suggestion of inspection and accountability.

A lost pocket book was once proclaimed in a company of respectable looking men, and a general search proposed, when one of the company objected, and blusteringly said, among other things, that it was not only an insult, to propose searching such a

respectable company of gentlemen, as a set of pickpockets, but it would be an outrage upon common justice and decency to attempt to enforce it, and surely none but a slave or fool would submit to the humiliating and degrading transaction. A discerning individual of the company, replied, most probably, *thou art the very man, or an accomplice in villainy, or one of the same character.* He further said, he could see no impropriety in a general search. It was due to the occasion. The innocent could suffer no harm from inspection—but the guilty might be detected! For his part, he desired the search, that the truth might be known, and erroneous conjectures avoided. The man who professed so much apparent *charity* for the respectable company, did not quite *cover* his own sins, for the search was made and the pocket book found in his bosom.

It is said that lord Bacon asserted, that base natures *suspected*, would generally prove themselves so. But was it not this same lord Bacon, who, probably from not being sufficiently suspected, or known and guarded against, indulged his corrupt or unprincipled disposition, (in his judicial transactions,) and finally proved himself,

“ the meanest of mankind.”

At the time the Roman liberties were most fatally declining, one half the people were considered paupers, or in a greater or less degree, subsisted upon what was called the *charities* of the church. Whether this was the result of accident, or design, it nevertheless contributed, in a powerful degree, to the downfall of their general freedom.

While Julius Cesar was plotting the final overthrow of Roman liberties, as a *cloak* for his designs, and to aid in the operation, he supported about twenty thousand of the poor!

The system of *begging*, and of cultivating a humble dependence on the rich, and those invested with authority, or the management and distribution of the charity funds, as some call them, or the various sums raised by public taxes and private contribution for the support or temporary relief of the poor and needy, in Eng-

land, has a direct and extensive influence and agency in keeping their poorer classes of people in a cringing submissive posture.

In Scotland, it is said, they cultivate among the common people, a habit and system of *self-dependence*.

Begging, generally has a powerful tendency to destroy that manly and noble sense of liberty and self-dependence, which distinguishes a *free man*, or the genuine republican.

The knaves and tyrants of the world, in their efforts to pervert the meaning of words, and the application of principles, to their crooked designs and purposes, would represent CHARITY as *ignorant, thoughtless* and *unreasonable*—bestowing favors indiscriminately, on *impostors*, and the worst and most undeserving objects in society; and consequently *nursing* the vices, follies and miseries of mankind—instead of the contrary.

True charity, acts discernedly, interestingly, and discreetly—distinguishing between merit and imposture—bestowing assistance and favors on the deserving and corrigible, and in such a manner, as to produce the best possible general results.

Novels.

(NOVEL writers, for the most part, choose imaginary, or extreme characters and cases for their subjects—such as are seldom or never realized.) Consequently, like dreams, or bubbles in the air, they are apt to divert our attention from the things that really concern us.

Novels are extremely apt to make young people *giddy headed*.

An eagerness for novels or romancing, is a fair indication of the ignorance and depravity of the times.

Those who wish to keep mankind in a state of ignorance, delusion and slavery, could hardly desire more effectual means to accomplish their purposes with, than are frequently afforded by novels.

Novelists too often serve as a kind of *flutterers* or *decoys* to allure ignorance and folly into the *snares* of vice and slavery. At the best, they are apt to draw off the attention of eager and in-

quisitive youth, from the acquisition of real and important information, to the pursuit of fictions and trifles.

We certainly have no time to *waste* ; but novel reading is generally much worse than a mere waste of time, for it too often bewilders the understanding and corrupts the mind.

In the early stages of human society, before there was much matter for real history, it was not only justifiable, but often highly meritorious and important, to give imaginary sketches of human life and character ; and even at the present time, where the press is not free for the promulgation of truth and useful information, narrations of real and important facts, under feigned names and outlines, are quite justifiable : but in our day and country—although the press is not in fact free from the *snares*, *terrors*, tricks and quibbles of interested and designing *crafts* ; there are an abundance of *realities* to furnish subjects and matter of importance for historical and other writers, without having recourse to *fictions* and *folly* ; and who, in their sober senses, could possibly prefer fictions and trifles, to matters of reality and importance.

A judicious history of facts, or detail of useful sciences and improvements, delights our senses and enriches the understanding ; but novels, like dreams, too often bewilder our senses, and impose on the understanding.

Novel writers generally study to set off their stories in the most extravagant and *bewitching* style of language and colouring—like artful seducers, so as to engage the attention of eager and unsuspecting youth, to the neglect and ultimate exclusion of subjects of truth and importance.

After a person has once had their senses *bewitched* by the enchanting style of novel reading, realities and matters of usefulness, in their sober and unaffected characters, become too *dull* and *tasteless*, in their estimation, to engage attention.

Fancy has not led the figure, and *fiction* has had no hand in the detail or colouring. They seem to say, “ why—it is a plain matter of fact, and what person of *taste*, would be entertained with such dull stuff ! ”

Novel reading, has not only a general tendency to draw off the time and attention of inquiring youth, from realities and matters of

substantial worth and usefulness ; but ultimately exerts and cultivates a talent and disposition for *fiction*—hypocrisy and deceitfulness.

The minds of novel readers, are more or less occupied with visionary ideas, and subjects of fancy, to the exclusion of realities and matters of importance.

I can hardly help regarding every novel as a *lie* ; and often wonder how people of sense, can indulge themselves, or their children, (whose tender minds deserve a friendly care,) in such silly and mischievous pursuits.

Give me none of your *novel readers*, says a wise young man, in pursuit of a bosom friend and partner for life, for her mind will be occupied with fictions and follies, to the exclusion of realities and matters of usefulness. Neither as a man of information and business, has novel reading a better tendency.

Every virtuous and enlightened man and woman, will generally study to avoid *novel readers*, for their minds are apt to be too much like a *toy-shop*—full of artificial monsters, images and play-things, for the wonder and amusement of silly minds ; or something like a juggler's performance—any thing but what is real and useful.

ARTIFICIAL *shapes*, *coloring* or complexions ;—imaginary *brains* or ideas, and matters of information ; FICTITIOUS *fortunes*, acquirements and responsibility ; AFFECTED smiles, friendship and animation ; a FEIGNED sense of virtue, justice, humanity and honor : in short, nothing is more generally real with thorough bred novel readers, than their extreme *vanity* and *deceitfulness*.

People educated to consider an *useful* application of their time and talents, as degrading, will suffer almost any thing, rather than do good in society.

Finally :—the study of novels, or pursuit of useless information and diversion, steals time, fills the mind with worthless, visionary or vicious ideas, or leaves it an awful blank.

Seek usefulness, and the pursuit will soon become pleasing, and the result beneficial.

Public Schools.

PUBLIC schools, affording every one the means of a judicious COMMON education, are by far the most important establishments that regard the freedom, happiness and prosperity of a nation. They have a greater tendency to promote *equality* among men, than any thing else, perhaps in the power of government; and that, too, by giving every one an *even start*, on the great journey of life; and which is, by the way, no more than *fair play*.

Society is indeed, *bound* to furnish every one with the means of common information. Teach every citizen his duty, and qualify him to perform it, and then justice and good policy would require the *punishment* of those, who wilfully neglect to perform their parts as good citizens; but to those who have been basely kept in ignorance against their own will or understanding, justice should be merciful.

To allow any one an *extra* education at the public expense, is not only unjust, but impolitic—it is unjust, in as much as it is *partial*; and it is highly impolitic, especially in a republic, to give any one the *advantage* of his fellow-men. But on the contrary, every just and reasonable means should be employed to promote equality among men, as much as possible, well knowing that there will be *unequality* enough, in spite of every reasonable exertion to the contrary.

It would be far more proper, to teach the agricultural, mechanic and others arts of general use, at the public expense, than to give the instruction and information usually acquired at colleges.

Learning, unless applied to purposes of public usefulness, is generally an injury, rather than a benefit, to society.

College learning insures no positive good to society. The student may have devoted his chief time and attention to the study of obsolete matter, or to the acquisition of superfluous, or mischievous arts or information; or he may finally prove a blockhead, sot, or knave, and either sacrifice the money expended in his education, or employ his extra learning in imposing upon the public or individuals. And after all, the individual educated or instructed at the public expense, will expect a full and even *liberal* compensa-

tion for whatever services he may render the public : so that the public generally gain nothing by the most fortunate result.

If there was need of more men in any particular profession ; or a want of extended skill or information, in any art, profession, or branch of business, the *demand* would probably regulate itself, by calling forth the skill or exertions most wanted, especially under the management of a judicious and wise government.

People would be much more likely to make a good use of their time and talents, when they studied at their own expense, than if they were supported by the public.

Ingratitude is the predominate impulse of the human character. "Give an inch, and they will take an ell." Give a number of individuals extraordinary advantages in their education or acquirements, at the public expense, and then elevate them to stations of power and profit, and they will be the more likely to imploy schemes of treachery and human oppression, than if they had shared the common lot among their fellow men.

What, in fact, are most of the college learnt men, *now* doing for the actual good of mankind ? How great a proportion of them are employing their extra learning, favourable stations and opportunities, in promoting the general cause of truth, justice, virtue and human liberty ? or the actual independence, and prosperity and happiness of the people of this republic ?

Many of our college learned men, certainly appear as intently nursing the germs of human ignorance, depravity, poverty and dependence, as tho' they constituted the principal sources of their present gains, and the substance of their future dependence.

It is an important fact, and which ought to be duly regarded, that most of the great moral and political changes that have taken place for the actual benefit of mankind, have been more the result of necessity, and of accidental causes, than of the *design* of men indulged with extraordinary advantages of education, and those who exercised the chief powers of human government. And for the plainest reason in the world—it is not considered for *their interest*. Men in possession of extraordinary privileges or advantages over their fellow beings, whether by the result of accident, or design, certainly will never understandingly make exertions *against themselves*—or voluntarily relinquish their advantages.

The imposters and tyrants of the world, are *against* every change or measure that has any considerable tendency to enlighten the people—relieve them from unjust and unnecessary restraint, and finally to elevate and improve the general character and condition of the human family.

Most of the light and liberty actually gained in favor of justice and humanity, was obtained against the will and designs of those most indulged with education and the means of doing good in society.

I do not mean to include those *self-taught* genius's, who have sometimes grown up without public nursing—uncramped by the arbitrary rules of education—uncorrupted by the hypocritical arts and examples of the learned *crafts*—unintimidated by the terrors of arbitrary rulers—for such characters generally grow up unobserved, because where system controls reason, instead of reason regulating system, special care is taken to watch and keep down *free thinking* ; but secretly and silently maturing the human understanding, until the manly vigor of inlightened and expanded intellect, burst the dark and contracted *cage* of ignorance and oppression, and give a degree of wholesome and rational light and liberty to their stifled and oppressed brethren of the human family.

Philosophical Debating Societies.

PHILOSOPHICAL debating societies, properly arranged and conducted, are very important, especially in a free country. They are *schools of reason*, where the human mind is cultivated and expanded, and men taught to *arrange* their ideas, and to speak in public without diffidence or hesitation ; and, above all, where men are learned to *govern their passions*—without which no man can reason. One may *passionate* or *opinionate* ; but without cool and deliberate reflection, men seldom compare things correctly ; and reasoning is, simply a comparison of proved, self-evident or acknowledged *facts*.

An early habit of debating, with regularity and decorum, enables men to express themselves with correctness and ability, in their own private conversation.

It will very readily be foreseen, that those who make a *profession* of public speaking, will be interested against the establishment and usefulness of such societies; but an object of such immense importance to the rising generation, cannot, it is presumed, be defeated, by a comparative few. What a scene for contemplation, would it afford the patriot, philanthropist and philosopher, to see such societies formed in every considerable town or village in the union, and regularly attended, at convenient and stated periods, by the respectable young men of the vicinity, and subjects of interest and utility discussed, with becoming manliness, order and decorum !

These *schools of reason*, would be cultivating and testing, as it were, the talents of the *whole* youth of the nation, and qualifying them for various eminent and useful stations in life.

The attendance on such meetings, would soon take the place of idle, expensive and vitiating amusements; and not only enable the common people to speak in public with confidence and ability, on their own private concerns, as occasion might require, but ultimately raise up more *Franklins*, and republican worthies. We should then see, after a while, respectable farmers and mechanics, qualified for every station in the union; and be enabled to choose our public officers, from among *the people*, and not from among *the lawyers*, as we now do, for the most part.

In learning to debate or reason on extensive subjects, with ability, the youth should carry a memorandum book, and enter his ideas, when ever they occur to him as brilliant or useful on any subject. By this habit, the mind is disincumbered of the task of retaining the fruits of former labors, and left free to range for new matter; and, by reading over or reviewing our own thoughts, at leisure intervals, the mind is enabled to refine and preserve its own productions, for useful and eminent occasions. A memorandum book thus becomes, as it were, the storehouse of deliberation, to which the original possessor may resort for the resources of his mind, and thereby often command a victory, without much immediate labour.

Studying to *write* correctly, makes more practical improvement

on the mind, by far, than reading, or even debating without notes or previous contemplation and arrangement.

The art of reasoning, is the *labouring of the mind* ; and which frequently requires long and painful exertions, to produce a meritorious result.

When men make able speeches, or communications, on extensive and important subjects, apparently on sudden emergencies, it seldom or never happens, without previous study and arrangement.*

Legislators, generally commence making memorandums and arrangements, for debating leading subjects, in which they intend to take an active part, as soon as they are elected, or preparing for a session. The substance of the general arguments or pleadings in law, are not only familiar to experienced lawyers; but they always make notes and arrangements beforehand, of the substance, at least, of matter for arguments on important subjects.

Mankind are generally stimulated to argument, by a desire to *gain information, to convince others, or to display their learning, or talents, or to hear themselves prate.*

An early habit of reasoning, philosophically, on useful subjects, and of drawing practical conclusions, gets the mind in a train of inquiry and reflection, that is often productive of important benefits to the world of mankind, as well as to the individual thus early instructed. The human mind, without being early directed in this proper course, wanders, and becomes feeble and irresolute, or wild and frivolous.

To trifle or jest, in reply to serious or just argument, evinces want of decency, and a lack of sense, as well as a deficiency in argument.

When men are desperately intent on opposition to the works, or arguments of others, and are unable to point out any actual error or deficiency in the same, they too frequently forget the dignity

* When legislators have retired a day or two, making preparations for a speech, it has some times been hypocritically reported or pretended, that they were sick or *indisposed* ! Addresses delivered at tables, &c. are generally studied and prepared beforehand—notwithstanding the parties would often pretend they were taken by surprise !

and propriety of their own conduct, by attacking the *person* of the author, instead of his works. I consider it pretty good evidence that a man's works are sound and good, when those who wish to oppose them, have to look *some where else* for something to satisfy their hostility.

The members of such societies, should generally commit to writing, the main substance, at least, of their intended remarks. They should always be permitted to *read*, all or any part of what they had to offer in debate before the society.

Any society of young men, associated for intellectual criticism and improvement, would derive great benefit, by reading their own *written* essays, criticisms, or productions on any useful subject ; and also by *reading* pieces of their selection from newspapers, books or other publications ; with a general freedom of numbers remarking upon the same.

READING SOCIETIES, established for such purposes, would be important, in cultivating the minds of youth, by *mutual criticism and instruction* : and for young *ladies*, too, as well as gentlemen.

Such associations, in order to prove the most beneficial, should be composed of members nighly equal in age, knowledge and abilities ; for if any one or more possess considerable advantages over the rest, it tends to intimidate, overawe, and finally to discourage and defeat a fair competition, or a judicious emulation among the members.

Chief cause of Virtue and Vice.

VIRTUE, is a *natural* affection and dictate of the human senses ; and VICE is mainly acquired—the effect of art, or a delusion of our understandings.

All the principal virtues of the human character, are founded in the feelings, dictates and affections of our nature. A true sense of humanity, gratitude, good fellowship, and a general sense of right and wrong, are all to be found incorporated in the human frame, by the all wise and bountiful Creator.

Education may cultivate and expand these good and useful qualities of our nature ; but it never can add one essential quali-

fication, that is not founded in the natural dictates, affections and feelings of the human senses.

VICE, is chiefly acquired—the effect of art, or a *misguided* application of our good faculties and inclinations.

The guilty wretch, who obtains a momentary pleasure or gratification, at the injury of a fellow being, is perpetually striving to divert, drown or other ways silence, the natural dictates of his better senses, that rise in judgment against him.

The robber, and the assassin, increase their natural troubles, from a misguided pursuit of human happiness.

The young virgin, who barter her chastity, and ultimate happiness, for the false flatteries and paltry decorations of art, is the wretched victim of delusion.

Even the haughty tyrant, who scornfully rejects truth and reason, and wilfully sacrifices the lives, liberties and happiness of his fellow beings, is himself the victim of delusion, and studies to divert or silence the better dictates of nature, in order to *diminish his torments*.

The *malice* and *revenge*, which agitate their unhappy subjects, are perpetually struggling against the better affections and dictates of the human senses.

REVENGE, is indeed, a savage impulse ; and whoever indulges or harbors its dictates, nurse or entertain a ferocious and relentless *viper*, as it were, in their bosoms, to poison and annoy their own happiness.

There is a natural, intelligent and instructive monitor in the human frame, that, if properly cultivated and regarded, generally tells us how to act right. Indeed, no rational beings ever performed a wrong action, understandingly, but had a monitor within that *warned* them of the transgression.

(Virtue and happiness, and vice and misery, are inseparably connected.) This demonstrates the justice, wisdom, goodness and perfection of NATURE ; which is every where rendered consistent with the general principles and purposes of ETERNAL JUSTICE ; and whoever attempts an evasion thereof, ultimately bring trouble upon themselves.

Man was created perfect and upright. Justice and humanity are the attributes of his nature. But he has been corrupted and,

degraded by false precepts, and hypocritical examples, and above all, by BAD GOVERNMENT.

The simple children of nature, as they were first discovered—for instance, in Hispaniola, by Columbus; on the Friendly Islands, by Capt. Cook; and, in a degree, the more polished natives of Mexico, when first invaded by their ferocious and greedy foes; were virtuous and humane, until they were corrupted, and provoked to acts of retaliation and self-protection, by the hypocrisy, treachery and outrages of their pretended civilized intruders.

Man was evidently created for industry and usefulness; and, in his natural talents and disposition, he is susceptible of the noblest deeds and impressions.

Industry is indeed made necessary to our subsistence, health, improvement and happiness.

It is the *studied deceptions*, and *hypocritical examples*, that corrupts and degrades mankind, more than every thing else.

There are perhaps ten times as much pains taken, from ignorance and design, to promote vice, as virtue, in the moral and political world.

The cause of truth and virtue are so self-evident, demonstrable, and congenial to the human senses, that, with equal pains to promote them by precept and example, error and vice would stand no chance with them.

Nothing in fact is more truly ridiculous and contemptible, than vice and ignorance, when fairly contrasted with virtue and wisdom.

In order to point out human improvement, in the clearest and best manner, it is not necessary to go into a detailed explanation of the infinite errors, absurdities and corruptions that exist in an old and diseased state of society; but take man in his natural state, uneducated, uncorrupted, undeceived, and make the impressions that truth and reason require.

Man, in his simple and untainted character—undeceived, and uncorrupted, by false precepts and hypocritical examples, is a moral, social, and reasonable being, susceptible of the noblest impressions—capable of the highest degree of moral and intellectual improvement. Set his own good before him, in a plain and intelligent manner, and he will generally make choice and pursue a right course.

Pillars of a Republic.

THAT class of people, who possess a middling or small property, and are of steady and industrious habits, and who *think* and *act*, *for themselves*, are by far the most important members of society, especially in a free country ; and should always enjoy the first rights and privileges in a republican community. Their industry is the source of wealth ; and their virtue, intelligence and firmness, are both the palladium of civil justice, and the bulwarks of public safety.

The interests and feelings of this class of people, wherever they exist, ought to be regarded as the actual *pulse* of the nation. They are neither *above* nor *below* a proper regard for the rights, privileges and feelings of their fellow men. They participate, truly, in the general good, and *see*, *feel* and *understand* the things that concern a virtuous, enlightened and free people. Their sense, is *common sense* ; and that is the best sense in the world.

That country which possesses the greatest proportion of this class of people, (and I think I could name it,) enjoys the most uniform and rational happiness and independence, of any place on this globe.

Remarks on the acquisition of property.

IN all the numerous employments that occupy this busy world, there are but two ways to get money—one is to *earn* it, by doing something necessary or useful in society, and the other is to *cheat* it out of others.

A person may have *heired* a property, from diseased ancestors or connections, or obtained it by the free *gift* of some friend, or become possessed of it by *accidental* causes ; in which cases there might have been no merit or demerit, in the possession.

There then is *three* general classes in society—the earners or *producers*, the *drones*, and the *despoilers* :—the *producers* acquire their property and means of subsistence, by the habitual exercise of some necessary or useful calling, or industry in society ; the

drones subsist upon what they have heired, or obtained by free gift or chance, without earning of it, or wronging others ; and the *despoilers*, obtain their property and means of support, by treacherously or wrongfully dispossessing others of their earnings or property.

A *despoiler*, therefore, however artful his means of getting possession of others' property, would be viewed, in real civilized society, something in the light we regard animals that *prey* upon the fruits of human industry : and because human beings generally *know better*, and the brutes do not, is nothing in favour of the former.

The faithful husbandman makes no scruple to hunt from his possessions, by force of arms, the wolves, vultures, and other brutes that *prey* upon the fruits of human industry. He even dreads the sight of *useless* animals, however tame or harmless they may appear, for he generally knows that *some body's* interest has got to suffer for their support, in the end.

In testing men's characters, and particularly to see whether they are fit for *public* trust and employment, it is necessary to apply the foregoing rule, and to ascertain that they are neither *despoilers*, in any degree, nor *drones*.

Indolence inclined to Despotism.

The human mind, uncultivated, or occupied with useful science and employments, either lies dormant and useless, or engages in schemes of mischief and human oppression.

In reflecting on the *cause* of human degradation, oppression and misery, I can hardly help exclaiming to the people of this new and rising nation,

Beware of INDOLENCE,

for she hath *many mouths*, and is *lapping her tongue*, and *smacking her chops*, for the "*leeks and onions*" of despotism!

Indolence makes men *ungrateful*, and despotic—eager to possess *power*, so as to gain by *force*, that which they refuse to acquire by honest industry.

Indolence produces *ingratitude*—ingratitude leads direct to *treachery*, and treachery ends in *despotism*.

According to an ancient saying,

“AN IDLE MAN IS THE DEVIL’S COMPANION.”

Indolence is the natural enemy of industry, and of human rights ; and ultimately subsists upon the earnings and property of others—not its own.

So when I see a youth growing up in indolence, or luxury at others’ expense, I can hardly help considering him as probably a young *wolf*, *vulture*, or other animals destined to *prey* upon the rights of others. Sometimes I almost wish to see a bounty offered for the scalps of all animals that *prey* upon the fruits of human industry, whether they go upon four, or *two* legs.

Despotism is nothing but *overgrown indolence*.

Those virtuous and industrious villagers, who contribute so much to enlighten, enrich, and adorn the interior of our country, view an idle person, who has no honest and ostensible business or means of living, something in the manner a discerning and faithful shepherd would regard a *wolf*, lurking in the vicinity of his sheep fold.

Honesty the Best Policy.

THERE is nothing more clear, both in an individual, and national point of view, than that honesty is, truly, the best policy.

However individuals may attempt to reason on the subject, dishonesty generally terminates in the end, to the disadvantage of those who practice it.

The time and money spent, in artifices and efforts to deceive and wrongfully deprive others of their rights and property, is a sacrifice, as it regards mankind generally, in the end, in some shape or other ; and what is unrighteously taken from human virtue and industry, not only has a direct and powerful tendency to weaken and discourage their useful and important efforts and influence in society ; but the amount of property wrongfully obtained, general-

ly goes to strengthen and encourage dishonesty—to nurse the very *wolves* and *vultures* of society.

DISHONESTY plays the very *devil* in society, by deceiving and entangling the innocent and unwary ; robbing industry and merit ; and destroying the peace, wealth and confidence essential to human prosperity and happiness. It subjects the intercourse and transactions of business between mankind in general, to numerous and otherways unnecessary delays, vexations, burdens and expences. It greatly abridges human liberty ; wounds, sickens and finally destroys, incalculable numbers of human beings, and fills the world with ignorance, oppression, poverty, cruelty and woes.

If every person would make it a general rule, *to do as they would be done by*, the chief ignorance, poverty, oppression and cruelty experienced in the world, would soon cease, and earth become a kind of moral and political paradise. But as this christian rule cannot be fully accomplished at once, the nigher we come to it the better ; and every precept and example that have a tendency to promote it in the end, are highly important.

An honest man, is truly, the noblest work of God.

A dishonest person is generally watched, shunned and despised, by every virtuous and enlightened member of the community.

The established and well known honor of a state, nation or individual, are often of more real importance to them, in the end, than all their other resources.

Who, that knows the worth of an *honest conscience*, would exchange it, for all the glitter, empty show and sounds that human cunning could contrive.

The peace and sweet satisfaction an honest man enjoys within his own conscience—that *intellectual paradise within himself*—which no evil apprehensions disturb, and especially if he believes in the eternal wisdom and justice of the Supreme Being ; the reputation and confidence he generally enjoys among his good neighbours and fellow men ; and the great saving of time and trouble, which he generally derives in the transactions of business, are considerations of immense importance.

Two individuals, in marketing any thing they have to sell ; or in pursuit of employment, as master, or journeyman mechanics,

clerks, laborers, servants, &c.—equal in every other qualification and appearance, except that one is known to be honest, and the other is known to be dishonest, would succeed very differently.

Every prudent and wise person, in their dealings, would naturally give a decided preference in favor of an honest man.

A person dealing in choice articles, subject to considerable adulteration and deception in their appearance, quality and worth, difficult to be immediately detected and understood, and who was known to be honest, and well acquainted with the quality and worth of the articles he had to dispose of, would command a very great preference with every judicious purchaser.

Were I to set out with a determination of making the most money I possibly could by the final result of trading, and especially by dealing in articles or property of an intricate character, subject to considerable adulteration or deception, I would make it a rule to be uniform and inflexibly honest in all my representations and dealings. So that people might take my word without the least doubt or delay, or send any distance, and trust their orders with even a child, with the utmost certainty of being dealt with as fairly and favorably as if they were present themselves, and had used all the criticism and skill at inspection, and making a bargain, in their power. Such a course of dealing will ultimately succeed, if the person thoroughly understands the character, quality and worth of the articles or property he deals in, and has the capital and other means necessary to conduct his business to advantage.

When a person has gained the reputation that a long course of intelligent and honest dealing entitle them to, more especially in a business or situation surrounded by evil temptations, what indeed, would induce them, understandingly, to part with their character, or to change their feelings.

Honour.

HONOUR, in its simple and genuine character, consists, solely, in that which evinces *human excellence*.

A proper sense of *honour*, is the noblest impulse of the human mind. It excites mankind to deeds of virtue, justice, humanity and public usefulness. It regulates and controls the actions of men, beyond the immediate power and influence of servile regulations and restrictions.

True honour, refines our senses—cultivates, enlarges and exalts the human mind and understanding, and produces an excellent course of principles and habits of life.

There is a little kind of *craft*, or cunning cultivated among thieves, professed gamblers, libertines, and other *outlaws*, or base characters, to keep them from depredating upon ONE ANOTHER, which *they* call honour. Hence the saying of “Honour among thieves.”

Leading monarchists and aristocrats, have also a standard or rule of action which they call honour, fitted to their peculiar policy and situation, by which they consider themselves bound to regard the rights, privileges and feelings of *equals*; but which has no great restraint upon their conduct towards those whom they estimate as of inferior rank or condition in life.

It is however ridiculous to call that honour, which is inconsistent with virtue, justice and humanity.

True honour, is a refined sense of genuine *republicanism*—it regards all men with EQUAL justice and humanity; and those the most honourable, who excel in deeds of virtue, justice, humanity and public usefulness.

It is indeed a base perversion of the meaning of words, to call that *honour*, which is inconsistent with virtue, justice and human excellence.

Justice.

JUSTICE, is the *hope* of virtue, and the *fear* of vice.

The guilty villain, cries, in bitter vexation, JUSTICE—thou author of my chief fears and torments, thy fixed and unalterable decrees, anticipates my plots and designs, and thy vigilant and incorruptible *watchmen*, detect and punish me wherever I flee or se-

crete myself—their activity and discernment fills me with perpetual terror and alarm—even in my *sleep*, I am tormented with painful dreams and apprehensions of detection and punishment. Keep, then, out of my way and imagination, *JUSTICE*, for *I dread nothing worse !*”

But the honest man, exclaims, in the fulness of his soul, “O ! *JUSTICE*—thou vigilant and uncorruptible sentinel of Heaven ! thou guardian angel of virtue, innocence and truth, preside over the country where I dwell, I beseech ye—examine and settle all our differences and evil doings, and exercise thy fostering influence and encouragement over the rising generation, for in thou are my hopes—*JUSTICE IS ALL I DESIRE.*”

What a change will it produce in the situations, feelings and prospects of mankind, when the Great Ruler of the Universe makes known his decrees of *Eternal Justice*—unveils the hypocrites and impostors, strips the despoilers of their ill-gotten wealth, disarms the tyrants and oppressors of mankind, of their influence and controlling power, and brings their authority and pretensions into insignificance and contempt—and exposes the whole to the world in all their baseness and deformity of character, and causes virtue and human excellence to be acknowledged and rewarded, in all their loveliness and glory !

Such a result is perfectly consistent with the attributes and character of the CREATOR, and with the purposes of *eternal wisdom* ; and most assuredly will take place, ere long, to the astonishment and bitter grief of the guilty offenders, and to the inexpressible joy and satisfaction of the virtuous and well deserving.

War.

WAR, for the most part, originates in two opposite and distinct motives, varying in degree, from the most extreme vice to the most extreme virtue.

OFFENSIVE warfare, however plausible the pretext, nevertheless originates, for the most part, in the same vicious or depraved motives, as *robbery, murder*, and the like capital offences, committed

by individuals in civil society ; although those who bear arms as common soldiers, are generally ignorant of the nefarious motives that too often influence their principal leaders.

DEFENSIVE warfare, is mostly dictated by the noblest impulse of the human mind : those who take up arms to *repel* invasion—to *defend* their natural and just rights—who put their bold and manly fronts to the *storm of war*, to ward off impending ruin—who jeopardize *their own lives*, to *screen* the innocent, and to *save* the lives, liberties and fortunes of the virtuous and unoffending—such characters, (and my feelings glow with the choicest sensibility, while I define a *holy patriot*,) are justly entitled to every impulse of justice and humanity. Such a character was WASHINGTON, and the noble souls that fought with him under the American standard, for the rights and privileges we now enjoy.

The sin of *omission*, is sometimes as great as that of commission. The man who stands by quietly and sees an outrage committed on his fellow creatures, while he has power to prevent it, without encountering unreasonable hazards, may be generally considered as a coward or villain, or both.

It is ridiculous to suppose that an intelligent being can *mean well*, when he wilfully neglects to perform that which is obviously his duty.

Nature has wisely endowed all creatures with the *powers of defence*, in proportion to their worth and consequence, and evidently for their use and preservation ; but to MAN, the reputed lord of the creation, has been given the *faculties of reason*, and the sense of an *immortal soul* ; and for which man is evidently accountable, as a *rational being*, for the *use or abuse*, of those powers and faculties.

Those who authorize offensive warfare, may be generally considered as *legalizing* murder, robbery, and the like capital offences, and frequently as offering a *bounty* for outrages upon humanity.—Such are truly *monsters* in iniquity.

A state of war, generally gives advantages to the most worthless and unprincipled men in society, by affording them frequent and peculiar opportunities to prey upon the distresses and defenceless rights of their fellow beings.

War preys upon the very *vitals* of society ; by sacrificing the lives, health and principles of the young or middle aged men—thereby leaving an undue proportion of old men, women, children and invalids ; and by corrupting the morals, destroying the property, and heaping new burdens upon society.

Wars are not much unlike an *earthquake* or *tornado*—marking their way with death, havock and human misery.

It is said that wars are *sometimes* productive of beneficial consequences to society. This is undoubtedly true in a few particular instances or cases. However, a nation or people who cannot estimate or enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity, without frequently contrasting their situations *experimentally*, with war and calamity, are certainly not to be envied for their wisdom or virtue.

Mankind have very artfully devised many gaudy decorations and fantastical allurements, to disguise the true character of war, and to draw designing knaves and heedless fools, into the snares of unjust and unnecessary warfare.

We are in fact, singularly inclined to *extremes*, in most of our habits, measures and policy—although it is universally admitted that a *medium* is best, in almost every possible case. First, appeal to *reason*, and last, if necessary, to arms.

Civil employments hold out undertakings sufficiently hazardous and glorious, for noble enterprise. What a hero was JUVENUS, who vanquished a legion of tyrants with a *goose-quill* ! Such deeds are above the acquisition of havock and death.

Without taking into consideration the loss of lives, and other human sufferings occasioned by mad or useless wars ; what important *national improvements* would the bare sums expended, have accomplished, had they been judiciously applied for that purpose ? The intelligent and reflecting mind would be astonished at the conjecture, and almost lost in contemplating the vast and important objects that might have been accomplished by the application.

A grand ARBITRATION, established between different nations, as a civil tribunal to settle national differences, would obviate the necessity of war, and verify their Christian and civilized characters.

Suppose a congress of delegates from several different nations, should meet and establish *written and definite laws*, for guiding and controlling their conduct, as nations, towards each other ?

Let the republics of North and South America, commence this *earnest* of civilization, and form a CODE OF INTER-NATIONAL LAW, and provide a tribunal for carrying the same into effect.

Slavery.

Slavery, is evidently of savage origin ; and carries with it all the barbarous cruelties and exactions of *outraged humanity*. It certainly should never be tolerated in a civilized, or christian country ; and, above all, in a *republic*. It is totally inconsistent with every impulse of justice and humanity. The human senses revolt at the idea, that one class of fellow-creatures should be forcibly kept in perpetual and ignominious bondage, and their labour exacted with cruel stripes, merely to enable another class to live in indolence and luxury. Some awful chastisement, no doubt awaits such heedless, and inhuman inconsistency ; and ere long, most assuredly, will break with accumulated vengeance, on the heads of its guilty patrons. Experience, although slow, and although sometimes rather high in her charges, yet is sure to teach those who will learn *no other way*.

Pharaoh's heart was hardened against the cries of justice and humanity, and the warning voice of reason—but eternal justice overwhelmed him and his host in the Red Sea !

The man, who is reared up among slaves, and receives his principal subsistence from their earnings, is no more fit to represent *freemen*, than an avowed monarchist would be to entrust with the administration of a republican form of government.

A proprietor of slaves, is generally a despot in habit, if not in mind and feelings—whatever policy may induce him to *profess* to the contrary, notwithstanding. Wind is cheap ; but *actions* have a more substantial meaning.

Slavery effeminates and degrades the human character. The custom of slavery brings industry into contempt, and elevates in-

dolence ; and has, generally, a powerful tendency to excite a *spirit of despotism* in society. Men who have long been in the habit of domineering over their fellow creatures, and of treating them as brutes, rather than equals, or rational beings ; get, even their natural sympathies and fellow feelings stifled, and frequently become downright despots. The love of dominion becomes their ruling passion. Their will is law. They are often ridiculously mighty in will, while feeble in intellectual and bodily powers.

Wherever the custom of slavery is indulged, it curtails the natural increase, as well as vigour and usefulness, of the free population.

(Tell me not, then, that you are a *republican*, while you meanly cavil for the unnecessary extension of slavery, and basely compromise the honour of your fathers, and the future glory of the republic.)

Distinctions of Birth.

There is, perhaps, no title or distinction under heaven, more truly ridiculous, than an hereditary, or that which is derived from birth ;—It is a proof of no merit, but rather the lack of merit ; it is submitting to chance, that which ought to be decided by reason ; it puts men where they have neither power to ascend, or remain, of themselves, and causes a *gag* to stifle the voice of truth : It evinces folly in the giver, and receiver ; it insults merit, and laughs common sense out of countenance ; and generally has a train of the same kind of creatures at its heels, to trample on the rights of honest industry and merit.

Credit.

Credit, in its allurements, and consequences, is like spiritous liquors, a good servant, but bad master :—If necessarily or prudently used, credit enables the poor to live, to gain strength, and even to prosper ; but if unnecessarily or imprudently indulged—

and which is the case for the most part, credit, like spiritous liquors, intoxicates men with vain ideas of their worth and consequence—subjects them to be overreached by sharpers—to loose what little property they may have acquired, and often to loose their liberties, and sometimes their lives.

A person possessing another's property on *credit*, like one set out with borrowed clothes and equipage, often fancies himself above his real situation, and ultimately leads him into unwarrantable calculations. (It is, it must be confessed, a ridiculous trait in the character of any one, to wish to appear above their real situation—in *disguise*, or under *false* colours, as though they were *ashamed* of their actual and true circumstances and situation! or had some *treacherous designs*!)

By means of credit, the learned and wealthy take advantage of the ignorant, the poor and needy—"grind" and make them subservient to their will and purposes. A learned man can much better calculate the difference betwixt paying down, or at some future day; who it would be safe to trust, and who not; and what the probable change of times would affect, as to raise, or lower, the price of the article: so that, in every stage of the *game* of credit, the learned and wealthy have the advantage, and none but fools will play with them, unnecessarily, at such odds.

Credit occasions numerous lawsuits, and quarrels, and facilitates immense and incalculable frauds.

By means of credit, millions are often hazarded, *without the knowledge or consent of the real owner*.

Through the medium of credit, the indolent are frequently enabled to riot in luxury *at the expense of industry*.

Credit subjects both the borrower, and lender, to numerous and unforeseen sacrifices, unavoidably occasioned by the change of times and circumstances.

Debts contracted beyond one's ordinary means of prompt payment, lead people to fictitious apologies, and false promises, and too often make them confirmed liars and knaves, in the end.

People secretly embarrassed with debt, are extremely apt to adventure property, which in strict justice is not their own, in haz-

ardous speculations,* and otherways to engage themselves in desperate undertakings, and frequently terminate their course in swindling and other infamous practices.

In truth, there are but few people who come out of considerably embarrassed circumstances, with clean hands, and uncorrupted minds.

When people feel the pressure of debts beyond their ordinary means of payment, they too often throw themselves into the hands of knaves and tyrants, who, after *skinning* them, make use of them as instruments for robbing and oppressing others.

Tyrants and knaves, often successfully *bate* their traps and snares, with *credit*, to bring their prey within the reach and hold of their *fangs*.

Finally—every one, who loves his liberty, and would be truly independent, seldom runs much in debt. Free from debt, with one dollar aforehand, a man is independent, in a degree, and worth millions, he is no more.

In fact, no man can be truly said to be independent, who is always indebted to others, for even his *opinion*.

Commerce.

INTERCOURSE, or an exchange of commodities between different nations or sections of country, is certainly desirable, when and wherever it can be conducted *without sacrificing a greater good than is received in return*.

From an aversion to every thing that bears the name of *labor*, and through the influence of excessive avarice, some have carried schemes of trade and traffic, to a degree that perhaps better deserves the name of *gambling*, or of *swindling*, than of commerce.

The *labor-hater*, had much rather lounge in a counting room, or behind a counter, and devise means to set a superficial value on his goods, and thereby get something for nothing worth, than to *earn* his living by the honest "sweat of his brow;" and it is much

* Including copious purchasers of *lottery tickets*, to the ultimate loss and injury of their *creditors*!

easier to practice fraud, in schemes of trade and speculation, than in cultivating the earth, or in manufacturing useful articles.*

Men in commercial pursuits, for the most part, no doubt would be willing to import and retail to the people of this new and rising nation, *all the vices and follies* of the old, corrupt and oppressed world, *for the usual profits*.

The *trading craft*, would be highly benefitted and delighted, no doubt, if they could so manage as to have all the produce of the arts, the earth, and the ocean, pass through their hands once at least, before they came to the consumers. Besides, their arts and efforts to involve the knowledge and operations of commerce and trade, in unnecessary intricacy and obscurity, often manifests a policy, as base and hypocritical, as it is injurious to the best interests of society.

Commerce is too often dictated by indolence and cupidity.

Jews are excessively attached to *trading*.

The venders of merchandise address themselves to our vices and follies, more often than to our better senses.

Credit is chiefly instituted for the use of commerce ; and through the means of credit, numerous and immense frauds are facilitated.†

Men's hearts are apt to be with their fortunes ; and when their property is *afloat*, or in some foreign country ; or when they consider themselves dependent on the favors of any distant nation or power, for their principal means of success, they are seldom true to the interest, honor or independence of the country they inhabit.

Practising merchants and traders, generally have but little per-

* It is often very convenient, I know, for traders to shift off the blame of deceitful made articles, on to the manufacturers—although the merchant or trader himself might have ordered the goods made in a sham or deceitful manner, in order to make up the deficiencies by his own crafty displays, representations and management.

† To the great benefit and delight of unprincipled lawyers, and sharpers generally ; who, therefore, while acting as legislators, judges, and executors of the laws, generally study to indulge credit, trade and speculation, to the destruction or injury of the best interests of the community.

manent interest or property. They are often a kind of *bird of passage*—at home any where they can make money. They can “pack up their duds and be off,” readily, when it suits their interest or convenience.

Those concerned in commerce and trading, chiefly control our *new fashions* of dress, &c.; and often render them extremely pernicious to the country, for the sake of augmenting their own profits and influence.

How great a proportion of the losses experienced by *endorsing*,* and failures, may be fairly imputed to commerce and trading?

Finally; can the United States be involved in war, or troubles of any considerable magnitude, abroad or with any foreign power, and *foreign commerce* not be the chief cause?

Finespun Arguments.

FINESPUN arguments, proceeding either from a foolish vanity to hear ones self *prate*, or from an intention to deceive, by combining truth and error so nicely together as hardly to be distinguished, have generally an evil tendency in society. Like a little wheat mixed with a great deal of chaff, such speeches and writings, are hardly worth culling. Besides, such chaff is very liable to bewilder and blind people.

Most people who communicate to the public, might be properly advised to *think more* and *say less*. Cull, sift, pack, and give the public only the flour, without the straw, chaff, or bran.

“Brevity is the soul of wit.”

A certain person, in writing to his friend, remarked that, if he had *more time* he should have *written less*. This appeared somewhat paradoxical, until the writer explained, when he said that, if

* When one man *endorses* for another, without receiving any security, favor or compensation of equal value in return, he *insures*, and *without a premium*. It is worth a premium to insure, even against the smallest hazards. A man's house, or life, may be less hazardous to insure, than the prompt payment of his debts.

he had time to have selected the most appropriate words and sentences, and to have arranged his ideas, he could have expressed much more in fewer words.

The most famous Grecian and Roman characters, were celebrated for their short, clear and comprehensive mode of expression, and so indeed are the good and great men of every age and country. They wish to be understood—not to deceive, consequently they study to express themselves in plain, simple language, suited to the learning, capacities and understandings of *the common people*. They do not strive to see who can make *the longest speech about nothing*, like some of our *windmills* of the present day: nor study to obscure the meaning of any part of their communications to the public, in *foreign* or *dead languages*, that not more than one person in five hundred generally understands.

Franklin would say more to the purpose, in five minutes, than many of our long-winded speech makers do in as many hours.

Public Celebrations.

CELEBRATIONS of a general or national character, such as the 4th of July—the *birth-day* of our nation, serve to remind us of the origin and worth of our liberty and independence—to cultivate a *national* sensibility, and to expand the flame of patriotism. On such occasions, if any among us are in pain, it fully manifests their hostility to the *nation*, and generally compels them to bite their tongues or cover their heads.

Party celebrations, where there is not a general occasion for joy, tend to excite the envy and malice of opponents; and generally terminates to the disadvantage of the party celebrating.—They seem to compel modest believers, to take a rank hold, or none at all—to *hiss*, or *be hissed*.

Costly Local Monuments.

Before mankind were much civilized, a heap of earth or stone was raised as a monument, or *token* of respect for some person or character, or to commemorate a signal, or meritorious act or event. As the arts progressed, figures and characters were inscribed on those monuments, more expressive of their meaning and intent. Since the art of *printing* has been perfected, *history* furnishes a much more correct, extensive, and durable account of human character, and of the singular and interesting events of time, and renders those *local* and *barren* monuments, of little or no use.

Institutions of a useful or benevolent character, bear *fruitful* evidence of human worth and excellence; but costly and useless heaps of earth or stone, impoverish and deceive mankind, then moulder into oblivion, or serve to excite the tyrant's rage, or to increase the booty of conquest and plunder.

Finally, had the same time and money, which has been expended in raising, or constructing costly local monuments, in commemoration of human character, or of the singular and interesting events of time, been judiciously applied to the founding or aid of benevolent and useful institutions,—real public improvement, we should have a much more valuable evidence of the wisdom and goodness of our ancestors, than we now have.

Duelling, or the Club Law.

It is evidently a base and foolhardy act, for a man *voluntarily* to jeopardize his own life in a duel, since there is no reasoning in the case, nor evidence of innocence, or of guilt, manifested by the result.

"*You are a coward, and dare not hazard the public opinion,*" said one man to another, who had just accepted a challenge to fight a duel.

Most duels originate from offences, *too trifling to be taxed with a penalty*, by man in his cool and deliberative capacity, or senses.

I should rather consider it as infamous, than honorable, for a man to prostrate the laws of civil society, which he had sworn to support, as a freeman, or magistrate ; to violate the bonds of marriage, which he had called Heaven and Earth to witness, in the comfort and support of a partner, and her tender offspring, by *voluntarily taking a part in a duel.*

Should this mode of deciding controversies between individuals of the same country, become general, it would do away the distinction between the injured, and aggressor, by putting both on a par ; render the reasoning faculties of man in a manner useless, and be productive of such consequences, as to make even the *brutes mourn*, for the ferocity and despotism of uncivilized man.

As an apology for duelling, it has been pretended, by some, that the custom has a tendency to prevent base persons from slandering reputable characters ; but my own experience and observation enables me to conclude that the reverse is generally the case, and that the bullying, barbarous and despotic influence of duelling, often deters honest and worthy men from exposing, and ultimately defeating profligates, knaves and impostors.

The *club law*, however refined in its mode, implements and operations, is nevertheless as brutal or savage in its origin and true character, as it is despotic and unreasonable in its influence and effects ; and whether it is enforced by side or fire arms—with spears, swords, guns, pistols, arrows, tomahawks, daggers, canes, whips, clubs, stones, brickbats, fists, claws, feet, teeth, or nails—with implements furnished by nature, or art, it still manifests its unreasonable, ferocious and brutal character.

The terrors of the club law, are chiefly directed against the cause of justice and humanity. The biggest rascal, or brute, is generally the hero of the club law.

The club law, seems to exercise a kind of usurped despotism in society, setting at defiance the civil law, justice, reason, and common sense.

The prevalence of duelling, is, indeed, a glaring outrage upon the character of a civilized people.

It is wonderful what public magistrates do with their *oaths* to enforce the laws, while they connive at the progress of this barba-

rous and destructive custom ; and it is perhaps as singular, that *such* servants should be continued in public employ.

It is contended, as an apology for duelling, that there are many serious insults, and other injuries experienced by individuals, for which the laws of the land afford no adequate and practicable remedy. This is a lamentable fact ; but duelling, or the club law, affords no certain remedy, for the aggressor stands an equal chance to come off victor, in this savage and unreasonable contest. Besides, what satisfaction could it afford a man of truly honorable feelings, to have killed a fellow being, or made him a cripple for life, in a moment or gust of passion, for perhaps some trifling or imaginary offence ?

If the object of duelling be not *murder*, and the duellist only desires a reasonable satisfaction for an insult or injury committed on his person or character, for which the laws of the land do not afford an adequate and practicable remedy ; then let there be a BOARD OF HONOR, either temporally provided for the occasion, or permanently established for the trial of such cases. The parties, witnesses and judges, should all be bound by the ties of christianized or civilized *honour*, (to do as they would be done by,) in such cases ; and after examining into the merits of the case, the board should decide upon the true nature and magnitude of the offence, and the satisfaction to be rendered. If a party refused compliance with this mode of decision, it would generally put them so manifestly in the wrong, as to supersede the necessity of any further explanation.

At best, duelling is an act of DESPERATION ; and generally resorted to under a gust of passion, and without any reasonable, justifiable or sufficient cause—and particularly when the parties are under the pledges, and within the range of CIVILIZED society.

Civilization.

CIVILIZATION, mainly consists in a due regard to *moral* and *political justice*, in our established laws, usages, intercourse and

habits of life. It has but little to do with the fashions of dress, dwellings, equipage, ceremonies, or matters of mere external show. That is, a nation or people may have splendid mansions, displaying heaps of polished marble, adorned with curious sculptures and paintings ; they may dress and decorate their bodies gaily, ride in pompous vehicles, and banquet upon wine and high seasoned dainties ; they may marshal the multitude into tedious and showy processions, accompanied with sweet sounding instruments of music, mount high rostrums and make fine speeches ; they may even erect the most costly and splendid temples, decorated with gold and other precious objects, and offer up supplications and sacrifices to the idol of their worship. All this they may do, and even much more, and not be *civilized*, in a strict sense of the term.

Human improvement, or whatever contributes substantially to the support, peace, health, security, prosperity and happiness of mankind in general, promotes civilization.

Intellectual, moral and political improvements, are the highest and best fruits of civilization.

The ancient Greeks, and Romans, either taken collectively, could not be considered as a civilized people. They might perhaps more properly be regarded as powerful and accomplished robbers, who enriched and aggrandized themselves upon the *spoils* of others. War was their chief trade, and conquest and plunder their proudest harvest. The weak were robbed or dispossessed of their earnings and property, by *force*, and their persons slaughtered, or consigned to slavery, for the support and gratification of the strong. Virtue and usefulness were outlawed and degraded, and indolence, treachery and barbarity honored and rewarded. The showy and useless arts were cultivated to *excess*, to decorate and pamper vice and indolence, while most of the substantial and useful arts and comforts of life, were despised and neglected. Virtue and human excellence was hunted down with a savage ferocity, and the best men obliged to flee their country, or be butchered.

The Christian system, which is the basis of real civilization, has taught mankind the wickedness and absurdity of such a course of policy and conduct ; and that it is by a *mutual exchange of good services*, that the general prosperity and happiness

of the human family, is promoted—by doing unto others as we would that men should do unto us.

Man perfectly civilized, is the subject of truth, justice, and reason.

We now begin to realize some of the good fruits of civilization ; which teaches us, among other things, that every human being has certain *natural* rights—derived from the Creator, with our being ; that these rights cannot be forfeited, only by our own *voluntary* acts ; and that every man is justly entitled to the *fruits* of his own industry—subject to an equal and just tax, or proportion of the preparations and expenses, necessary to protect his person and property, and to maintain the good order and progress of civil society.

When ambition induced Napoleon Bonaparte to seize the reins of monarchy, he adopted a degree of uncivilized policy, and sought to enrich and aggrandize his favourite persons and places, by the conquest and plunder of others. He created privileged orders of men, and lavished boundless honours and favours, upon those who were the most serviceable in his schemes of ambition. He attached to the fortunes and favours of his person, an immense military establishment ; a priesthood ; orators, statesmen, diplomats, dramatists, artists, poets, musicians and panegyrists, whose chief business was to open and smooth the way to the objects of their master's ambition, and to garnish over his transactions.*

The same policy is more or less pursued by all chiefs who get their power, or retain it, by *force*, or any way in contempt of the people. Every *village despot*, or petty aspirant to power, even in our own country, generally studies to render the *hopes* and *fears*

* It is fair to notice, that Bonaparte benefitted the best part of the French people, and in a manner reconciled and attached them to his government and person, by practising a degree of genuine *civilized* policy ; in promoting useful agricultural and manufacturing improvements, constructing roads and canals, and, above all, by causing all the ancient, complex, intricate, obscure and absurd systems of law, to be revised into, or superseded by, one simple and definite code, suited to the general wants, understanding and use of the common people.

of his neighbours and fellow men, subservient to his will and purposes, by a similar course of uncivilized policy.

The right of conquest, as maintained by the nations of Europe, is a barbarous and highly uncivilized policy.

I doubt whether there can be such a thing, as a civilized state or nation, truly considered, without a written, definite and established constitution or form of civil government, emanating in the free will and *choice* of the people, and subordinate to their alteration and control.

I consider the *declaration* of American independence, as the first charter of civilized rights ; and I have no doubt but that it ultimately will be universally regarded, as the most sacred instrument that ever emanated from men.

It would be just and rational to conclude, that real *civilized* nations, would cause a congress of delegates to assemble, at some central and convenient place, to legislate, and form, or otherwise agree upon a definite and complete CODE OF INTER-NATIONAL LAW, for the future government of their national rights, transactions and concerns ; and that they would provide for a grand arbitration, or some other judicious mode of enforcing the laws and settling national disputes or differences : so as finally to do away the savage custom of warfare ; by which men often descend below the general character of brutes, in striving to see "*which can do the other THE MOST HARM !*"

Kingcraft.

KINGCRAFT, mainly consists in a systematic combination of *ignorance* and *corruption*, artfully interwove, connected and trained together, by a variety of hypocritical and crooked ties, policies and habits of life, co-operating to maintain the chief sovereignty of a state or empire, in a single individual, or family compact, against the understanding and free will or *choice* of THE PEOPLE.

The dictates and general policy of *kingcraft*, would represent the world as a *cheat*, and the biggest cheat as the *best* fellow : And, consequently, in a general sense, whatever frauds or im-

sitions are practised on mankind, are right and proper, provided they are done *learnedly* and *systematically*, and are performed under a *legitimate*, or *holy* pretext, conformably to the general policy and designs of kingcraft, and so that the *vulgar* and *unsanctified* cannot participate or derive any benefit from them.

Hence, *schoolcraft*, *priestcraft*, *witchcraft*, *lawcraft*, *literary-craft*, *warcraft*, and the whole family of corrupt and hypocritical *crafts*, were either created for the express service and designs of KINGCRAFT, or have been drawn in to its aid and support.

SCHOOLCRAFT, is chiefly devoted to the service and general designs of kingcraft, by early, and artfully inculcating in the minds of youth, false ideas of their own natural and just rights, abilities, and best good; and by imposing on their credulous and tender minds, ridiculous prejudices, concerning the rights, and infallibility of kings, emperors, or *sovereign princes*; the sacredness of their persons, and the *love* they entertain for their subjects! Every thing, in fine, that has a tendency to form the youthful mind to the impositions and general designs of kingcraft.

PRIESTCRAFT, imposes base and fraudulent arts and designs on mankind, under a pious or *holy* pretext; and is generally devoted to the services of monarchy, or corrupt men in power. The masters of this craft mostly effect their purposes, by *complexing* and *obscuring* many of the plainest and most important truths of "divinely inspired revelation"—by studiously involving the light of Heaven in *darkness* and MYSTERY; so as to pervert religious faith and zeal, to their hypocritical and base purposes; and finally to *play the devil* with mankind *under the name of religion*!

WITCHCRAFT, is a pretended supernatural agency of the infernal spirit; and formerly was an active aid of priestcraft; but has been so completely outdone, and finally superseded, by the witcheries and devilish works of the more learned and polished crafts, in *deceiving*, *corrupting*, *robbing*, *tormenting* and *destroying* mankind, as to have fled to the wilderness for support among the INDIANS!

LAWCRAFT, studiously involves the rights and interests of mankind, in *uncertainty*, by a variety of intricate, complicated, tedious, obscure, expensive, hypocritical, perplexing, and vexatious law systems, rules and proceedings; rendering the common rights and interests of mankind, subservient to the chief will and purposes of

the learned, and wealthy. Exciting the evil passions, and keeping fellow-beings by the ears, or at variance with each other's rights, interests, and best good, by crooked and uncertain quibbling, shuffling, squirming, twisting and juggling, under some hypocritical pretence of aiding and supporting their just and necessary rights, reputations and fortunes, and of *endeavouring* to resist, defeat, and prevent in future, arts and designs of an opposite character and tendency.

This craft is generally devoted to the services and crooked designs of any individual, or body of men, when well *fed*. The masters of lawcraft, in this country, seem intent on *their own* elevation to privileged power, or a kind of POLITICAL, INQUISITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY. For which reason, the enlightened and best friends of justice and humanity, are studiously promoting the establishment of a truly civilized and republican code of law ; and an equal distribution of offices and power, among men of the different professions and concerns of the community.

LITERARY-CRAFT, is displayed in a variety of little arts and efforts to involve the light of nature and human experience, in *intricate* and *obscure* language—often by a hypocritical perversion of the proper meaning of words—a kind of “hocus pocus” or *juggling* of letters ; and by promoting complex, tedious and expensive systems of education ; useless, frivolous and obscure reading, in order to keep the great mass of mankind in ignorance and bondage—subordinate to the imposition, control and designs of the few of their own peculiar education, interest and policy.

WARCRAFT, is the child and faithful servant of kingcraft.

In order to acquire, and maintain a haughty and corrupt sovereignty and control over mankind, they must be excited and trained to mutual enmity, depredation and destruction. For which purpose, odious distinctions are created and kept alive, between people of different complexions, languages, dress, manners, occupations, customs, habits and conditions in life, to sever and destroy the ties of mutual sympathy and fellow-feeling, natural to the whole human family.

The ingenuity and energy of mankind must be excited, whet, strengthened and kept alive, by every little cunning, artifice and

management, *for their mutual annoyance and destruction*, in order to harden their feelings, and habituate them to the existence and perpetuation of this *wolf-hearted, self-annoying, self-destroying* policy.

An actual state of warfare, however unnecessary or unjust it may have been in its origin or designs, seems to justify the raising of large military forces and supplies ; the exaction of heavy taxes and other burdens, and the injunction of additional restraints upon our personal freedom and intercourse.

War also creates an apology for *borrowing* large sums of money, upon the faith or credit of the nation, or a pledge of public property ; and seems to justify a profuse expenditure of the public funds.

War has a most peculiar tendency to corrupt and harden the feelings, minds and dispositions of mankind, and to fit them for schemes of treachery, oppression and cruelty—for mutual annoyance and destruction.

Many of the flood gates of vice are hoisted during the existence of war.

After a nation or people have been accustomed to the exactions, burdens and restrictions of an actual state of war, for a considerable length of time, and to witness the profuse and extravagant expenditures of the public property, during the same, under an apparent necessity, they yield more readily to such measures and policy, in times of peace, and in cases of less apparent emergency. Habit has trained them to the yoke, and rendered the restrictions familiar, and the burden a common load.

In order to seem to justify the keeping up of considerable military forces, by land or sea, in times of general peace, some evil passions must be excited, provoked, stirred up, let loose, connived at or kept alive. * For which purpose, bands of robbers, petty insurrections, riots, and other indications of insubordination and danger, upon land ; and piracy, smuggling, and the like, on the waters, are generally resorted to.

Probably for the same reason, the petty states of Barbary have been permitted to carry on their piratical system of warfare, by

the maritime powers of Europe ; one of whom alone could have silenced them at once, if they chose.

How very kind it appeared in the British government, at one time, to keep their armed ships cruising in every sea, to *protect* mankind against the pirates, when for one fourth, and perhaps a tenth part of the expenses actually incurred thereby, the whole nest of pirates might have been destroyed, or blocked up in their own country, or their piratical practices otherways discouraged and finally discontinued.

The same policy of government, kept up armed forces in times of peace, in the colonies of North America, professedly to keep the Indians in check ; when, if they had only faithfully endeavoured to induce the same to have changed their savage mode of life, instead of encouraging them in it, and furnishing them with means to carry on their warfare more successfully, it would have appeared unnecessary, at least, in a considerable degree. The same inhuman and self destructive craft, has also encouraged and protected *counterfeiters*, thieves, smugglers, &c., in their territories bordering on our country.

While the principle of *force* is operating, reason loses half its empire over man.

The terrors of a government with a large military force at hand, stifles truth and reason. Without such a legion of mercenary butchers at hand, the terrors of a despotic chief or master would, in a great measure, cease to operate ; and truth and reason would resume their natural empire over man.

The terrors of frequent and sanguinary executions and punishments, also have a tendency to keep the subjects of monarchy in awe.

War *corrupts* mankind, and produces *inequality* in their wealth and general condition, both to the great promotion of king-craft.

Wars generally afford unbounded chances for *speculation* and *spoil*, on the public funds, and almost every kind of merchandize and other property.

War creates numerous and profitable offices, and other public employments ; and greatly increases the number of public pensioners and paupers ; to the ultimate increase of the taxes and

burdens on the honest and useful industry of the community : for there is no other class of people who *earn* or *create* property, but those who practise some necessary or useful labour, profession or occupation in society.

Every policy and measure of government, that increases the exactions and restrictions, on the common people, *decreases* their general wealth and influence in society, and *increases* the riches and power of those in the exercise of authority.

Corruption and hypocrisy have become *fashionable*, in some parts of the old world, in consequence of the long prevalence—practices and examples of kingcraft.

Kingcraft has been considerably worked into the education, manners, *fashions*, policy and conduct of the people and government of this country, by its usual agents. Even so, that in some instances it would seem, a man had more actual harm to apprehend, from acting the true Christian, republican, patriot or benefactor of mankind, than from playing the hypocrite, the knave, the tyrant, or public despoiler. Some of the old disorder still lingers with us, and more regularly invade us with every importing gale.

Ruling Principles of different Governments.

In all the different forms or systems of human government, there are only Two different and distinct *principles* generally manifested—namely, *force* and *reason*.

Although *fraud* has an active and general agency in the rule of monarchy, yet *force* bears the chief sway. The will of the sovereign is law ; and without any great regard to its justice, or benefit to his subjects. He regulates every thing pretty much according to his own whim or interest—the same as a man exercises his power and authority over his cattle, or slaves ; except that, in some countries, a man is liable to legal punishment for inhuman treatment to his slaves, or cattle : but the monarch has no such check upon his power and control over his subjects.

REASON, with *truth* and *justice* by her side, bear the chief rule

in a genuine republican government; which is manifested in a regular system of laws and customs, founded in the free will or *choice of the people*, and designed for their equal protection, accommodation, and advantage.

The title to sovereignty, in monarchies, is usually claimed by the right of *conquest*, or *heirship*; and no political authority is allowed, which does not proceed from the monarch. Every measure, policy, or proposition, however well founded in justice, reason, humanity, or however highly regarding the prosperity and good of the people, are all strangled or set at defiance, when not in unison with the will and pleasure of the sovereign ruler. Superstition;* the scourge, the shackles, the prison, the gibbet, the halter, and the *bayonet*, (quite a fashionable *argument*, of late, with the legitimates,) all combine their power and influence, to silence the common freedom of enquiry, remonstrance, and the exercise of every thing like rational and manly liberty, and to *force* an absolute and unconditional compliance with the will and pleasure of the sovereign chief.

The right of conquest, as it has generally been regarded by monarchists, is totally at variance with the principles of republicanism; which are founded in justice and reason, and do not allow that merely the strength or ability to dispossess another by *force*, gives a right to property, or dominion.†

In a republic, *the people* claim the sovereign power or authority, as a natural inherent right, derived from the Creator with our being. They allow no privileged orders of men, nor natural

*It has sometimes been claimed for sovereigns, that they were the "*Lord's anointed*," and that whoever objects to their rule, *rebels against the sovereign decrees of HEAVEN*!

These pretensions however are becoming too ridiculous for serious argument, at this enlightened period.

† Suppose the common people of any country, state or nation, should come out in their might, and declare that *power was law*, and take the property and possessions of the rich, haughty and overbearing monarchists, and their aristocratic leagues, especially those who have *outlawed* the common people, and denied them their natural and just rights—what would they *then* say to the right of conquest? They might perhaps

superiors ; but found all their preferments, honors and rewards, upon actual and acquired merit.

Those who make and administer the laws for the government of a republic, are the agents or servants of the people, elected or chosen expressly for the several purposes, and who are held accountable to the people for the faithful performance of their specified duties and engagements.

Some systems of government partake of the two principles, *force*, and *reason*, by dividing the power between the monarch, nobles or aristocracy, and the people. This is generally called a *limited* monarchy.

The nobles are the creatures of the sovereign power, made for the use and convenience of the monarch, and may be generally regarded as instruments and appendages of his authority.

The two opposite principles of such a form or system of government, are generally at variance, until, by corruption, fraud or violence, one or the other of the powers get the ascendancy and control. After the people have had *one* hand bound, they can much easier be deprived of the use of the other, than while they have both hands at liberty to defend themselves with ; and as men are generally inclined to be despots, (would, if they could, control even the very *thoughts* of their fellow beings,) it is therefore highly dangerous and absurd, to consent to the deprivation of the least portion of rational liberty.

DOCTOR PALEY, in his *moral and political philosophy*—in his smooth and artful vindication of the British form of government,*

appeal to custom, (which sanctifies every enormity,) and say that, true, their ancestors or predecessors came into possession of their wealth and dominion by improper means ; but then, *time* has sanctified their title or possession—an argument equally unjust and futile, if the original title or possession was not founded in righteousness and equity.

There is no such thing as a natural and just right to a dominion, originally claimed, or held in contempt of the people ; who are the *only* natural and just sovereigns of every civilized state or country under heaven.

* *Constitution*, he calls it ; although it would puzzle him or any body else to give a written and definite *copy* of the *articles*.

represents mankind as *giving up* part of their liberty, in order to secure the rest. But *when*, and to *whom*, have they given it? *The people* never have been consulted on the subject; neither dare their political masters submit the matter to their free understanding and deliberate *choice*.

The honest fact is, unprincipled and despotic men have usurped, or *taken* a degree of the natural and just rights and liberties from their fellow men, in proportion to their various means of getting and retaining possession of the same. As well might a pirate, or highway robber, claim the plunder surrendered up to them, (in order to save the lives of their defenceless victims,) as a *gift*.

*Paley** is equally absurd, in his defined "*advantages* of monarchy," which he has enumerated as "unity in council, activity, decision, secrecy, despatch." Now, these are among the principal *disadvantages* which I should attach to monarchy. If the interests and sense of the people were duly consulted and regarded, on measures of public importance and concern, many of the mad wars, and other base, or silly projects and transactions of monarchy, suddenly and secretly entered into, at the caprice or will of the sovereign, would be prevented.

There is no just and reasonable advantage to be derived by a nation, from an exercise of extensive authority, but may be possessed by elective and responsible officers. An enlightened and wise people, would naturally delegate to their agents, all the authority necessary to fulfil the proper duties of their official stations, and consistent with the dignity and safety of the public, to invest. It is true, we sometimes see opportunities for accomplishing important political objects, by the brief exercise of unbounded authority; but, as such a power would be more likely to be abused, than judiciously exerted for the general good of mankind, it is therefore extremely unwise to entrust it to any human being.

According to the political rules and maxims of monarchy, the reigning sovereign *can do no wrong*; so that, whether he brings

* This is a *classical* book, from which many of our collegians and other scientific young men, derive much of their political knowledge. We may, therefore, not be surprised at the political notions they often entertain.

on national bankruptcy, or perpetual burdens of debt, disgrace, or other ruinous consequences, upon his nation or subjects, in consequence of his warlike, or other measures he might have engaged in, to retain his sovereignty by *force*, against the will of the principal part of the people of his empire or dominions ; or in assisting, at his own will, a relative or neighbouring prince, pretender or aspirant, to possess or retain sovereign power, in like manner ; or in indulging his own private pique, malice or inclination, against a chief, nation or individual—even against his own wife, family or connection, within his own dominions ; or by the debauchery, waste, extravagance, injustice, oppression or cruelty, of his own public or private conduct : in either case, politically speaking, even according to the doctrines of limited monarchy, THE SOVEREIGN HAS DONE NO WRONG. By which the monarch seems to say to his subjects, “ *I shall do pretty much as I please, and you must make the best you can of it !*”

The simple truth is, that monarchy is such an unjust and unreasonable usurpation of human rights and authority, that no virtuous and enlightened being will understandingly support it of *choice* ; and those who are *hired* to justify monarchy, or who support it from an interested *participation* in the advantages of the sovereign power and concern, generally go upon the absurd presumption, that mankind are *their own worst enemies*—not fit to be entrusted with their own concerns, the choice of men or measures, for their own government ; but that the reigning chief, (whoever he may happen to be, although composed of flesh and blood, the same fallible materials as other men,) is not only fit and proper to govern himself, but to rule the people of a whole nation or empire, besides !

No wonder the advocates and leading supporters of monarchy, should strive, by every art and effort in their power, to *render* mankind their own worst enemies—*incapable of self-government*, in order to support and retain the monarch in his sovereign power, and thereby gain their own wages and participated advantages ; but that mankind were created, or are by nature enemies to their own best good and happiness, is an idea as absurd, as it is false and infamous.

It has been supposed, that because the chief or *individual* who

heads an absolute sovereignty, or despotic exercise of power, would be unable to answer for, or incapable of sustaining a punishment, in due proportion to, perhaps an hundred thousandth part of the sins committed under his authority, that, therefore, he would not be punished at all ! But the chief only *orders*, and those who voluntarily or unnecessarily obey and *execute* his unjust and cruel designs and purposes, commit the *overt act*.

The most surly, petulent, ferocious or blood-thirsty little animal that ever went upon two legs, could never have done much harm of himself, without the willing aid and assistance of others.—Hence those who become the willing instruments and abettors of tyranny and oppression, are entitled to a due share of the merited punishment. Even every common soldier and sailor, who voluntarily enter the service of a despotic or arbitrary chief, or a person who, in any way unnecessarily and understandingly aids and assists the execution of his base designs and purposes, outraging and setting at defiance the natural and just rights of men, merits a due proportion of the infamy and punishment. And no doubt, an infinitely just, wise and powerful God, has provided ample justice for them, in the end.

Marriages between the persons and families of monarchs, are generally conducted in a very unnatural and absurd way ; and not unfrequently occasion great national evils.

The precautions employed to guard against spurious or *illegitimate* heirs to the thrones of monarchy, are troublesome, and often quite laughable. And after all the care and inspection, there is no certain evidence of the *real father*—which is, one would imagine, quite as important, as to ascertain the true mother.

Murders and shocking civil wars, are sometimes the result of struggles for the possession of thrones, between rival heirs, pretenders or aspirants to sovereignty by the right of heirship and conquest.

According to the general rules of legitimate monarchy, a fool or mad man may be *born* heir to the throne of sovereign power ; and perhaps no alternative or better way may be provided for his subjects, than to pension, imprison or *murder* him, and try the next legitimate heir in turn, and so on, until they can get one

more tolerable, or abide all the consequences of an imbecile, profligate, severe or cruel master.

To provide for the infancy, extreme imbecility, insanity, captivity or voluntary absence, of a monarch, a *regency* has usually been employed—investing a number of select and responsible individuals, with a limited exercise of the supreme power of state. This was the case with Great Britain, during the insanity of George the third; with Spain, in the captivity of Ferdinand the seventh; and with Portugal, during the absence of their flighted monarch. The governments of these three kingdoms, during the most critical part of the late European contest, was conducted by a number of select and responsible individuals, invested with a limited degree of sovereignty, or exercise of the supreme power of state, without the assistance or control of their legitimate monarchs; and I believe it will be admitted on all hands, that the affairs of these three nations, were conducted, during this critical period, with more than their ordinary abilities and success.

This experiment developed many true secrets of government, to the people of those kingdoms; and has already effected a very important change in their favour. (This has most particular reference to Spain, under the Cortes of 1812, and 1820.)

During the restraint and embarrassment of their sovereign masters, the people of South America, began to develop their own true character, situation and policy; and a determined resistance to the sovereign yoke, became the ultimate consequence.

The republican creed, is founded in the just, fair, and honorable position, that all men are born equally free, and equally entitled to justice, preferment and human happiness, and that the law knows no distinction of persons, only what arises from their conduct and acquirements in life.

The main object of every virtuous and wise government, is to promote the general peace, security, prosperity and happiness of its subjects; and whatever schemes or actions deviate from these general objects, are absurd, pernicious, and inconsistent with the character of a just and enlightened people.

Monarchies, arbitrarily, unjustly and absurdly, restrain their subjects from the common freedom of human actions, for fear they

may act wrong ; and a republican government, justly and wisely, allow men the general freedom of action, but punish them for *wrong* actions.

Instead of conforming a system of laws and state policy, to a crooked and depraved state of the human character, it is far more proper to found our measures in justice and reason, and let the habits and conduct of mankind, conform thereto.

Monarchy is the worst result that can happen from a revolution, or defeated attempt to establish a republic or free form of government.

Virtue and *intelligence*, are the very soul of a republic ; and *ignorance* and *corruption*, are the sources of monarchy and human oppression.

The subjects of monarchy, ask justice as a *favour* ; but the good citizen of a republic, demands justice as a common *right*.

Monarchy depraves and degrades the human character, by obstructing the freedom of rational and manly inquiry, and the liberty of action ; by establishing an empty and false standard of virtue and human greatness, and by cultivating a vain pomp and show, suited to

“LOW AMBITION AND THE PRIDE OF KINGS.”

The empty titles, parade and decorations, that often seem to interest the subjects of monarchy, (as trifles please children,) only excite the ridicule and contempt of republicans.

The ruling principle of monarchy, being *force*, without any particular regard to justice or reason, the subjects thereof are coerced into compliance by a kind of slavish *fear* ; but the good citizen of a republic, sees his own good in common with others, embraced by the laws and customs of his country, and therefore complies with them of his own free will and *choice*.

Human Improvement.

Every undertaking that tends substantially to the promotion of

health, support, peace, security, prosperity and happiness of mankind in general, may be denominated a *human improvement*.

To cultivate and improve the good and useful faculties of the body and mind, and to restrain and subdue bad propensities, tends, doubly, to improve our happiness, and to exalt the human character.

A whole community, thus improved, would not only avoid most of the usual evils of neglect and indulgence, but would ultimately enjoy the highest degree of happiness our nature is susceptible of.

To promote this great and desirable object, in the most direct and efficient manner, we must take into consideration, the human talents, passions and propensities, and give them a right direction. This is effected by a variety of good precepts, examples, explanations and undertakings, tending to effect the enumerated objects in view. In this, every good member of society, is in duty bound to perform a part, corresponding to his, or her, abilities and station.

Every plan, effort and undertaking, that has a tendency to improve the condition of the common people, is naturally inclined to excite the ill will and opposition, of those in possession of considerable extra learning, wealth, or power, or those who contend for undue advantages over their fellow men. It is important, therefore, always to bear in mind, that whatever tends substantially to benefit the common people, will be generally viewed with hostility, by the aristocracy of the country. Hence, *genuine* christianity, and republicanism, both, originated with, and have mainly been supported by, men of humble origin, circumstances and situations; whom those puffed up with undue wealth, learning, power, rank, and authority, generally professed to despise, for their low birth, poverty, and ignorance.

Every thing that has a tendency to promote *genuine* civilization, christianity and republicanism, are most in accordance with the interests and feelings of *the common people*. We must, therefore, look to them chiefly for an impulse, or true sense of *equal justice*, and *fellow-feelings*, and for whatever imports a *common good*, or the promotion of justice, humanity, prosperity and happiness, to mankind in general.

Effects of Habit.

The natural effects of habit, on the human character, are truly astonishing—sometimes amounting to almost a total change of our natural sympathies and desires.

The butcher, accustomed to the slaughtering of domestic animals, soon loses his natural sympathies for expiring nature, and views the agonies of his victims, with as little emotion, as the rustling of a corn harvest, or the bubbling of water. To extinguish the vital principle of animal life, creates no delicate sensation in his breast: It is his trade, and the natural effect of *habit*.

The soldier, long accustomed to gain all his points by the force and stratagem of *arms*, almost forgets that he was ever endowed with the faculties of reason, or the sense of an immortal soul. He views the appeals to reason, rather as an evidence of weakness and folly, than of human virtue and excellence. Domestic peace and prosperity, have no charms for *him*. Havoc is his trade: Slaughtered thousands, desolated villages, and enslaved millions, generally, mark the progress of *his* glory.

The lawyer, who has been long in the habit of augmenting the profits and resources of his professional business, by fostering the depravity, and prolonging the miseries of his fellow creatures, feels little or no regret for the unhappy victims of his policy. The bitter vexations—the long and painful anxieties, and the distressing sacrifices, which he unnecessarily occasions his clients and others, to augment his own profits; and whether he finally gains, or loses his client's cause, is of little consequence to the lawyer, provided he only gets *his* purposes well answered. He forms and colours the characters of individuals, and other circumstances in evidence, to suit his purposes, with as little regard to truth and virtue, as the potter fashions his clay, or the artisan glosses over his wares. Public virtue and intelligence, have no joys for *him*. The ignorant and unwary are the easiest betrayed and plundered, and their resentment the least to be dreaded. Litigation, and the wreck of fortunes, are *his* trade. Crimes, frauds, and human embarrassments, are *his* delight.

These are the natural effects of *habit* on the human character.

But it has not escaped the observation of the moralist, philanthropist, and philosopher. History already bears evidence of their tendency, and precautions.—Long habit makes every thing appear right, however pernicious or deformed in their real character. Fools are the slaves of habit, and not the subjects of reason.

Remarks.—In regard to the first profession alluded to, it may be observed, that butchers are already excluded, in some of the most civilized countries, from acting the part of jurors, in cases where life is depending, from their lack of sympathy or fellow feeling, or perhaps more properly from their *habits* of shedding blood and taking animal life. And States the most enlightened and jealous of their liberty, have long since been made sensible of the importance of entrusting their chief defence to *citizens*, well organized for defensive warfare ; who, after they have expelled the common enemy, return with joy and alacrity, to their domestic employment and concerns. But why lawyers should have been so long indulged with the chief control of states, when their professional interests, *habits*, and policy, are so notoriously hostile to the great cause of truth, justice, virtue and human liberty, is a subject that requires serious attention, and particularly in this country.

Fool.

AMONG the numerous arts and efforts employed by the unprincipled and designing, to promote human ignorance and depravity, the true meaning and application of words have been studiously *perverted*, or basely neglected.

Notwithstanding the word *fool* is defined in our dictionaries, supported by scripture, to mean an idiot or wicked person ; it is quite common to hear it said of a man, that he is more of a *knave* than fool ; and again, some say, call me a *rogue*, but not 'a fool—just as if there was a material distinction, or that knaves and rogues were not fools. Wonderful effort, this, of *rogues policy*, to compliment and encourage human ignorance and depravity ; and no doubt the studied evasion of the proper meaning and ap-

plication of this single word, is the chief cause of one half or more of the knavery and deceit, practised in our day and country.

There are two sorts of fools in the world—namely, idiots, or *natural* fools, and *made* fools. The first, are those who by birth or accident, are rendered destitute of the common faculties of reason, and the others, are those who have had their understandings misdirected—that is, one is destitute of the common faculties of reason, and the other has had his understanding perverted.

Those who, ignorantly or understandingly, set truth, justice and reason at defiance, are foolish, and act against their own actual and best good: and, although a person destitute of the common faculties of reason, is an object of pity and compassion; yet a *made fool* or person of perverted understanding, generally deserves reproof, and sometimes smart correction, to awaken them into a proper application and exertion of *their reasoning faculties*.

Made fools, are generally the slaves and instruments of Satan; and are infinitely more numerous and dangerous in human society, than idiots or natural fools—who are commonly a harmless and inoffensive class of unfortunate fellow-beings. But when persons of good natural talents and capacities, have had their minds corrupted, and their understandings perverted against the light of truth and reason, by false reasoning and hypocritical examples, every increase of their natural or acquired powers and faculties, adds to their danger in society, as enabling them to extend their general warfare against the cause of justice and humanity. Some times such persons seem determined, as much as in their power, to annoy human prosperity and happiness.

There are some people in the world, who might be properly denominated *classical fools*; and others who appear *wise in theory* and *foolish in practice*; and some there are, who seem to have all sorts of sense but *common sense*. But by far the greatest proportion of *made fools*, are the fashionable knaves and hypocrites of the world.

Lying.

PEOPLE of unprincipled and despotic minds, without the strength, courage, or ability to execute their will and purposes by force or open hostility, generally resort to some secret means for venting their spite against virtue, merit and human excellence.—And among all stratagems and combinations of such characters, for the annoyance and final defeat of truth, justice, virtue and human liberty, there is nothing more generally resorted to than LYING.

Thus, a combination to LIE DOWN a rising prophet, patriot or public benefactor, has been apparently considered by some, as a *learned, honourable and pious* work. Of this we have had a fair sample, even in our own day and country : and perhaps no one ever more completely stood the test, or more fairly put down his enemies in his own life time, than did Thomas Jefferson—the apostle of liberty. And who, like the blessed Jesus, when he was reviled, reviled not again ; and did good to those who persecuted and spitefully used him. He spent his long life, great talents, extensive information, and ample fortune, in doing good to his fellow-beings.

This art of LYING DOWN individuals, is also practised on a small scale, against any one who stands upright, and boldly refuses to yield to ignorance and corruption. An honest and enlightened man, who fearlessly thinks and acts for himself, and openly disdains the dictation and shackles of aristocracy, is pretty sure to receive all the injury that falsehood and malice can inflict. In short, it has been considered quite *fashionable*, in some places, and particularly among a certain description of persons, to invent and circulate all the falsehoods that could be devised injurious to public benefactors, and their works and designs. And when *priestcraft, lawcraft*, and the other *aids* of KINGCRAFT, put all their *tools and machinery* in operation, to LIE DOWN an individual or his undertakings, but few can stand the truly infernal attack.

Monarchy in Disguise.

MONARCHY, is introduced, inculcated and supported, by a variety of hypocritical arts, agencies and operations ; and where it cannot be effected by brutal *force*, or by the open dictation, sound or terror of “ *royal authority*,” it is frequently introduced, or kept along, by some secret or hypocritical and pleasing *lead*, artifice and management. Such as a general lead in matters of *taste*, *learning*, *fashion* and *refinement*.

Thus, monarchists, after they found we could no longer be *drove*, like brutes, by force of arms—that they could not *terrify* us into submission to the “ *royal will* ;” finally began to exercise a different policy towards us, and undertook to *flatter* some of our “ head rebels,” and to be, seemingly, mighty *clever*, in order to LEAD us as much as possible, into their *fashions*, customs and final condition. (Mother Britain still kept the *pap* of monarchy to our lips. The nice little matters of *taste*, *learning*, *fashion* and *refinement*, which the old lady regularly provided for us—in order to *coax* and *drill* us back again into the ranks of monarchy, actually kept some hankering after a full tug at the royal pap !)

However independent, republican and patriotic we may *talk*, we still permit the old world to exercise a kind of sovereignty over us, and actually to draw a considerable *tax* from us, for the support of monarchy—through the *lead* we permit them to exercise in the alterations and control of our *fashions* of dress, and other matters of *taste*, *education* and *refinement*.

The empires of Great Britain and France, are chiefly governed by their METROPOLISES—*London* and *Paris* ; whose decrees of *fashion*, &c. are regularly received in our importing cities—promptly carried into effect, and forwarded to the country and smaller places generally, for observance. Thus we are, in a measure, ruled ; and often taxed to a considerable amount, in the extra price we pay for the *fancy*—whim for the particular pattern, figure, color or other matters of taste or *fashion*, and the prejudices we indulge in favour of the country or *place* of their origin or production—that is, all of us who have not sufficient discernment,

virtue, independence and patriotism, to resist the London and Paris decrees of *fashion*, &c. when not wisely adapted to our individual wants and circumstances, and consistent with our country's best good.

We have so long and so implicitly complied with these decrees of *fashion*, &c. that they have assumed a power and influence with many among us, superior to our make of laws.

Large cities, generally claim or expect a kind of *homage* from the country and smaller places around them, or within their sphere of action and influence. For which reason, I hope we shall never have a *London* or *Paris*, in this country, to corrupt our habits and rule us.

Some of the monarchies of Europe, are particularly well enabled to exercise a degree of influence over us, through our prejudices, vanity, and the individual interests of many among us, by their numerous manufactured articles and other supplies, which invade us with every importing gale.

European manufactures and literary productions, generally bring along and introduce with them, some of the pestilencies and plagues of monarchy, in some shape or manner.

Newly manufactured or fashioned articles of *dress*, *furniture*, &c. ; new rules, doctrines or authorities of *law*, and religion ; systems and rules of education ; plays, novels, tales, and other *fashionable* amusements ; matters of taste, learning, fashion and refinement generally.

These things, however trifling they may seem singly, or at the first view, nevertheless, when taken together, they often form the leading habits and character of a nation or people, and essentially rule their destiny—by early and artfully prejudicing their minds, effeminating their constitutions, degrading their habits, and finally fitting them for the general purposes and conditions of monarchy, or arbitrary control.

However anti-republican and absurd it may appear, we are still chiefly governed, in our highest courts, by British systems and doctrines of *law* ; and actually *run after* European *etiquette* and *court policy*.

Our books, rules and *systems* of education, are mostly from the fountains and sinks of monarchy and aristocracy.

Our religion, too, must be imported, in order to be *legitimate*, with some, and all the various creeds and doctrinal points, settled and carefully laid down and fitted for us, by our European masters—for the support of privileged orders of men. Indeed, some must have a *head* to their church in Europe !

We have to go to mother Britain, yet, even for a *dictionary*—to know how we may be permitted to spell and pronounce our words, and to understand what construction or meaning to give them. (Our language is full of *kingcraft*, or a hypocritical perversion of the proper meaning of words.)

Most of the *histories* we read, even of our own country, have either been written, or revised and carefully fitted for us, by our European masters.

Their newspapers, magazines, reviews, histories, novels, (romances, tales or fashionable little *stories* ;) and numerous books, prints, plays, and matters of custom and amusement, generally fashion and qualify every thing, *nicely* for us, children—to teach us to cherish and respect the elements of monarchy and aristocracy.

Most of the painted, engraved, and sculptured designs, as well as many other European productions, are artfully contrived, in name, color, form or figure, to pay some kind of homage or respect to monarchs and their broods of titled and privileged supporters. Almost every article of news, literature, manufactured or other production we receive from Europe, is more or less *tinctured* with the form and spirit of monarchy and privileged orders of men, in some way or manner.

The bare *prejudices* that have been artfully cultivated and kept alive in this country, in favor of European manufactures, customs, new fashions of dress, literary and other productions, amounts to a considerable *premium* in their favor, which we pay in support of monarchy and privileged orders of men. Such in fact is the power of European fashions and customs with many among us, that it would be considered a sort of *rebellion*, to resist their mandates. But the worst of this power and influence of European fashions and customs are, that they are artfully designed to promote monarchy and aristocracy among us, and are thus *secretly*, as it were,

undermining republicanism, by fashioning and preparing us, as much as possible, for their own rotten, and ultimate degraded condition.

The manner in which many of our young females, and males, are educated, brought up and habituated, has a very *fashionable* tendency towards monarchy, or the elevation of pampered indolence, vanity and deceit, over true virtue, merit and human excellence.

The simple difference between supporting a million of people in Europe to manufacture for us, (who may be brought *against* us, in case of foreign war,) and of maintaining the same number here, (who would act *with* us, in such case;) without reckoning the expense of transportation, out, and home, would operate immensely in favour of encouraging and supporting *home industry*.

Foreign trade not only aids monarchy abroad, but it is destructive to the equality and republicanism of our people at home.

The fluctuations in prices, and uncertainty in receipt of supplies, of goods from a foreign country—from the dangers of the seas, wars, and foreign regulations and restrictions, subjects us to many inconveniences and sacrifices. Besides, the foreign articles chiefly arrive or concentrate in large quantities, in a few of our largest importing cities, convenient to be monopolized or controlled by a league, or co-operation of desperate and overgrown speculators, on any sudden news, or emergency, and thereby large fortunes extorted from us, by their rise in price, for the creation and support of a set of nabobs, to insult, swagger, and trample on the rights of the common people. Whereas, if these necessary and other supplies were manufactured, and otherwise regularly produced among ourselves, they would be independent of foreign wars, interruptions or restrictions; and could not be controlled by a few greedy and overgrasping speculators; but would be continually producing, supplying, enriching and benefitting our own country, in general.

Some few have made money; but the havoc which the fluctuations of foreign trade has often created among the business and people of this country, is truly afflicting, and has proved ruinous to many of our industrious, enterprising and worthy citizens, and their concerns.

More than *one hundred millions of dollars*, were lost to the manufacturers, merchants, and people of the United States, by the over supplies of foreign goods, that inundated the market of this country, soon after the late peace, chiefly in consequence of the duties being unreasonably reduced.

Our importers and traders in foreign manufactures, productions and supplies, generally obtain a *credit*, from the foreign manufacturer, factor or dealer, and from our own custom house credits for duties, averaging from six to eighteen months, which often affords a considerable amount of *capital* for them to *dash* upon—whereby they may shortly make a fortune, or sacrifice the whole—and then begin *again, and again!* This creates *foreign* interests and attachments, and makes nabobs and aristocrats, or bankrupts, swindlers, and paupers, at home or in our own country.

Whereas, those who deal in home manufactures, productions and supplies, generally receive their goods much sooner—with greater certainty, or less danger of interruption, loss, or delay—with more direct, immediate and sure responsibility against errors, or designed frauds—supplies received much more frequently—fewer stale and unsaleable goods lying on hand, from season to season, eating out capital—far less capital required to do business upon, and little or no credit—a much safer and steadier business, with moderate, but sure and regular profit and gains. Tending to produce, and maintain, a degree of *equality* and republicanism—to augment national wealth and our internal resources, and to cultivate and preserve a genuine attachment to our country and best interests. Besides, every manufacturing village, or establishment erected in the interior of our country, creates a home market, and *steady* demand for a degree of our farmers' produce and supplies.

Custom, and *fashion*, too often make fools and slaves of mankind.

A milliner, mantua-maker, or tailor, direct from the metropolis or legitimate *seat of custom and fashion*, wherever it may be, often attract more notice, with the slaves and fools of fashion, than people of the most true and exalted worth.

Customs and fashions are often contrived to effeminate, corrupt

and degrade the human constitution and character—like so many diseases preying upon the virtues and energies of the body and mind, they frequently destroy, even a sense of our noblest attributes and acquirements.

Fashions and customs, like monarchy, have generally been calculated, (though *artfully*) to produce unjust and pernicious distinctions among mankind.

Some of our sturdy and independent republicans, who could not be *drove* an inch, if they could only be mixed and moulded into *fashionable* life, might soon be led, even to disarm and *shackle themselves* !

Take a number of our plain country boys and girls, at from ten to fifteen years of age, and let them live several years in Paris or London, in what is there termed *fashionable* life, and quite probably they would feel themselves wedded to the general customs, habits and policy of monarchy. Indeed, the *republicanism* of many, brought up in our own cities, consists more in *sounds* than of substance. Our liberty, indeed, stands on a more firm and sure basis, than the *quicksands* of a numerous and corrupt city population—the chief bane, hitherto, of European liberty.

The COUNTRY is emphatically the HOME of true virtue and liberty. Great city customs and fashions have but a slight influence there, and that generally with the most hypocritical, or frivolous and vain part of the inhabitants.

Any nation that manufactures and furnishes the most tasty articles of dress and furniture, for another, and dictates their education, fashions and refinement, exercise a kind of sovereignty over them, and generally derive a considerable *tax* thereby.

Our dependence, or subordination to certain parts of the old world, in this respect, operates greatly in their favour. Even the *prejudices* that prevail with many in this country, in favour of European manufactured articles, amounts to a *premium* of several per cent. in favour of foreigners, and *against ourselves* !

When the Wethersfield *Grass Bonnet* was brought before the American public, and considerable consequence attached to the production, as a source of our future independence in an important article of female dress ; an observing and thinking person re-

marked, that while we were such slaves to European fashions, our mistresses there would only have to change the *fashion* of the chief *material* for bonnets, to some particular article or production of their own, which we could not make or supply, to bring us again under their dominion, in that particular article of dress ; and that they would be pretty sure to do so, as soon as we got nigh supplying ourselves with the article.

Custom and *fashion* does more, in general, than the sword, for the support of privileged orders of men. .

Kingcraft, or *monarchy in disguise*, is thus carrying on a most dangerous and destructive warfare, against the virtue, republicanism, independence and future prosperity and happiness of the people of this country.

The Press, and its Allurements.

When the art of printing was perfected, by the invention and introduction of *moveable* types, it was soon perceived that it might prove a powerful means for extending the light of truth, and the cultivation of human knowledge. The *enemy*—the promoters of darkness, bigotry and corruption, therefore, seized their opportunity, and hypocritically imputed the invention to the *devil*. After this foul attack had failed to destroy this noble invention, they then, craftily deputed a devil to attend the press, (commonly called *printer's devil*,) to prevent all the good, and to do all the mischief he possibly could, with the types.

Most of our printers, it is believed, have rejected this ancient fiend of their profession ; but some still seem to think it *pretty* to play the devil as much as possible with the press.

In a free country, almost any blockhead, or knave—however incapable, or basely inclined, may establish, purchase, or otherwise *control* a press, and become a public instructor and guide, according to his own mind. We should, therefore, be extremely thoughtful of whom we follow, or support in such cases.

In derision of truth and human improvement, it is said that the *press* will labour for those who furnish *most* work, and pay ; and

that, consequently, printers generally will prefer to promote *complicated* and obscure systems of education, law, religion, history, and general science, for the sake of *increasing* their own business and gains. But, if the people are wise, and thoughtful on this subject, printers and the press will labor most for the general good of mankind.

There is something, however, to be regarded on this subject.

Our newspapers have an immense influence and power in giving an impulse, direction and *lead* to public opinion and actions—right or wrong; and in ultimately forming the public character and governing the country. But they are not well calculated, in general, to promote the best good of the people or community—to aid the general cause of truth, justice, virtue, liberty and human improvement.

Lawyers, who don't constitute more than a five hundredth or thousandth part of our free population—and whose gains chiefly depend on the *ignorance, wounds, and depravity* of society, have, it is believed, more influence and control over newspapers, take them generally throughout the United States, than all the rest of our inhabitants. Those concerned in commerce and trading, have probably the next weight of influence with our newspaper conductors in general; next priests, and doctors; and last of all professions, comes farmers and mechanics—although they constitute about three fourths of our free population, and are by far the most worthy, and important members of this republican nation.

The policy and political lead of our lawyers, and others of the learned professions, (*so called,*) interests them, peculiarly, in endeavors to control the press.

The *advertising* custom of a common newspaper, has a very dangerous, and often an extreme weight of influence.

A *few* political adventurers—office seekers, and office retainers, and advertising customers, often have more influence with the conductor of a newspaper, than his far more numerous subscribing and reading customers. He therefore would be inclined to impose on the many, to benefit the few.

Some editors, to serve advertising customers in promoting the

sale of articles of female dress and show, or to favor a *worse* policy or purpose, seem to take every opportunity to proclaim the assemblage of female "*beauty and fashion*"—just as if women were not enough inclined to dress and vanity, without this public and puffing excitement; or that mere dress and outside show, were any evidence of female worth and excellence.

One lottery broker, by his advertising, printing, puffing and flourishing, many times has more actual weight of interest with an editor and proprietor of a newspaper, than fifty or an hundred farmers and mechanics.*

Such papers or conductors—instead of performing their duty to their numerous subscribing and reading customers, by exposing

* Here let me remark, that nothing can be more false and infamous, than to represent *lotteries*—in order to promote the sale of tickets, as the "*road to fortune*,"—"THE WAY TO WEALTH;" as is also the employment of numerous other puffing and deceitful accounts, emblems and allurements in common use; when every man of good common sense and information, who duly calculates their ends, must know that lotteries generally prove, to the ignorant and deluded purchasers of tickets, the ROAD TO RUIN—the WAY TO POVERTY, INTEMPERANCE and CRIMES.

Our public servants, who have been duly invested with authority for the express purpose of making and *enforcing* laws, for informing and *protecting* the people against fraud and evil excitements, seem, in this case, to have disregarded their duty, and the common good; for that very class of people who mostly depend on the fostering care and protection of government, are thus given up to the deceit and treachery of unprincipled and designing sharpers. Some think the *wolves* and *vultures* of society, have got the chief lead; and are raising game for their future *spoil*!

In some states, they have enacted laws, professedly against the introduction and sale of foreign lottery tickets, wherein the *purchaser* as well as vendor, are made liable to penalty. Such laws no doubt were designed, by those who had the chief hand in making them, to *defeat themselves*. The *vendor* is the evil tempter, who should be punished; and the purchaser should be liable, if necessary, to testify to the fact of selling.

Rendering a necessary and useful informer, odious, or any way unnecessarily jeopardizing him, is a branch of *rogues policy*—adopted to deter men from employing the most effectual means of detecting and bringing to justice, criminal and other offenders.

and counteracting deceptions and other injurious practices and designs on the common people, generally study to serve their *few* intriguing and gambling employers ; and too often afford them peculiar and powerful aid in imposing upon the public, and individuals.

How then, it is asked, can our common people expect to derive any considerable benefit from newspapers, in their present condition ?

Besides, and with all our boasted freedom, it is said, our press is not actually so free as that of Great Britain—where liberty has only *one* hand unbound !

Our knaves and little tyrants, hypocritically study to entangle, intimidate and destroy the genuine freedom of speech, and of the press ; and often derive important aid in their designs and undertakings, by using the laws of a foreign and monarchical country, and our own—either or both, as best suits their purposes. It is indeed a solemn fact, that as yet, but little has been done for the efficient PROTECTION and *security* of the freedom of speech, and of the press. Individuals openly combine, and employ base artifices and other underhanded and dangerous means, to prevent the truth from being told, and especially when calculated to expose their base policy and conduct.

One of the greatest blessings that could be conferred on the good people of this country, would be the effectual establishment and PROTECTION, of the genuine freedom of speech, and of the press—to free them from the rubbish, filth and excrescences that now clog and distemper their operations ; so that the speaking, writing, printing, publishing, and circulating to the public at large, reading and use of good and wholesome matter, at least, should not be entangled, obstructed, or any way embarrassed, with impunity. If this was once effectually done, the press would soon expel the *monsters* in human shape, that infest and deform society—within at least, this republic.

Is there indeed, a genuine, independent, able, active and upright republican in our country—one who alike disdains the *flattery*, *harness*, *coaxing* and *lash* of political sycophants and despots—one who abhors the idea of men's becoming mere *voting ma-*

chines—but who boldly and actively supports the cause of truth, virtue, justice and human liberty, by precept and example—encouraging and assisting men to think and act for themselves; is there such a man in this country, and particularly if known, or even suspected of writing for the press, who has not one or more *spies* set upon him, to endeavour, some how or other, to *ensnare* him, and defeat his works and designs, or to watch and report his motions, to some of the superintending aristocracy of the country.

Even while penning this, the writer, known of his unyielding republicanism, and suspected of his designs, is surrounded by *spies*—some of whom are professedly personal friends! watching eagerly to catch any thing that leaks out, or otherways appears favourable to their designs and purposes, to bear the same to their masters!

Newspapers.

NEWSPAPERS, properly arranged and conducted, are eminently calculated to promote the general progress of civilization and human improvements, and are of vital importance to an enlightened and free people.

Modern newspapers, afford a *living history of the times*, replete with every useful and interesting intelligence of the season.—They not only inform us of the interesting events of our own country, but contain a general statement of the most important news and subjects of interest throughout the world. This is regularly brought to our doors, and in the most cheap, and convenient form and manner, for our immediate use and entertainment.

Newspapers furnish *food for the mind*, gathered *fresh* from the fields and fountains of intelligence, for our immediate use; and being given in small quantities, at short and regular periods, we can employ our leisure moments, without interfering with hours of business, in selecting, digesting and committing to memory, the contents of one paper, before another arrives. Thus the mind receives its food nigh as fresh and regular as the body, and in all

that variety, that is pleasing to the taste, and healthy and substantial for the mind.

Like the chief arteries and veins that convey the fluids of vital and animal life, to invigorate and sustain all parts of the human body ; so newspapers, for the most part, especially where the freedom of the press is not *intimidated*, cramped or obstructed, are the regular and chief conductors, of moral, political, scientific and miscellaneous light and intelligence, to animate, strengthen and adorn all parts of the body politic.

Newspapers are admirably fitted to the business, learning, capacity, circumstances and situation of every considerable profession and class of men in society. Something may generally be found intelligent, interesting and useful to all.

The politician, (and in this country, every man may be said to be a politician, in a certain degree,) eagerly grasps a fresh newspaper, to read the news of the day or week, as the case may be, to see what the busy world are about—how the *overgrown vices* of the old world manage to keep their half enslaved subjects in awe, or subjugation to their will ; how civilization progresses—what nation or people have dared to think and act *for themselves*, and who have submitted to be consigned over, or to descend from one legitimate master to another, and to be burdened and drove about like cattle, without any choice or direction in the men or measures that rule them. Perhaps the politician may utter a sigh, for those who are unable to emancipate themselves, and a flush of indignation towards their oppressors, and glow with sympathetic joy with those who have gained a degree of rational light and liberty.—The politician takes critical notice of every thing that concerns his own state and nation : he reads the messages of executive officers ; the legislative debates, (when short, and to the purpose,) votes, and measures enacted or proposed, for the public concern ; and a few of the most important judicial decisions. He notices the transactions of public servants generally, to know who are “ *honest*,” and “ *capable*,”—true to the principles of our republican creed, and able and faithful in the discharge of their official duties, and who are *dishonest*, or *incapable*. The substance of these matters he discusses over freely with his neighbours and fel-

low-men, as convenient opportunities occur ; and finally draws important conclusions to enable him to act as an enlightened and interested member of the community.

Merchants and traders, read newspapers with great interest and attention, to learn the general state of trade, and its future prospects—the crops and supplies of domestic and foreign commerce ; prospects of war or peace ; new regulations, interruptions, restrictions or encouragements, offered to foreign or domestic trade and intercourse ; new fashions, prices, supplies, and many other things that concern the fluctuations and fortunes of their present and future business and gains.

Mechanics and manufacturers, derive much useful and important information from newspaper intelligence, relative to improvements in their respective arts, operations, or branches of business ; public discussions and measures, friendly or unfriendly to the protection and future encouragement of staple productions of domestic industry, against ruinous foreign competition ; besides a general knowledge of the new fashions, demands, prices, and supplies, together with a variety of other intelligence that directly or indirectly interests their particular trades or branches of business.

Farmers, although perhaps generally the least inclined to read newspapers, for any thing particularly interesting to their profession, yet they have the most important interest in the matter of their general contents, of any considerable branch or concern of the community. Besides the numerous newspaper accounts relating to agricultural and domestic improvements, and their consequences ; the fluctuations and fortunes of the seasons, crops, or particular articles, arising from specified causes ; the general circumstances and conditions of the country, concern farmers far more than any, and perhaps all other professions together. And yet, farmers appear to have the least actual influence with the publishers of newspapers, of any considerable profession of men in society ; and chiefly, it is probable, because they have the least *advertising*, and *political intrigue* and *juggling*, in proportion to their numbers.

For this reason, and on account of a different interest and policy, it has been concluded, that it would be unsafe for the farmers

and people of the country and small towns generally, to rely upon the newspapers and leading politicians of *large cities* and towns, for a lead in politics, and examples of dress, and other customs.

Emigrants and travellers, regard a fresh newspaper from home, or the place of their nativity, or former residence, as an interesting intelligencer, from which they may learn the most important events of the place and its vicinity—the deaths, marriages, and extraordinary births ; most of the appointments, and *disappointments*, to office ; the commencement of new firms, establishments or undertakings, and the dissolution or alteration of old ones ; the most considerable accidents that happen from fire, flood, tornado, pestilence, or other natural causes ; robbery, murder, and the like acts of human libertines and monsters ; accounts of individuals evincing extraordinary virtue, genius, or human excellence ; special causes of public mourning, or rejoicing. In fine, almost every thing indicating a rare occurrence, or any considerable degree of *good* or *bad* fortune, to the place, or its individual inhabitants.

The general progress of Christianity, and emancipation from human despotism and bondage, which are often moved and greatly facilitated by newspaper accounts, and their original productions, excite the gratitude and expanded sympathy and benevolence of the christian and philanthropist.

Statesmen survey most of the convulsions and speculations of the political world, through the columns of newspapers, and draw many of their most valuable conclusions on political science, from the progress and result of general experience.

The philosopher, regards newspapers as a kind of *public mirror*, wherein he can review, in calm and deliberate retirement, many of the follies and fortunes of mankind ; note the “*march of mind*,” advancing, or halting,* as truth and reason are obscured, or *overawed*, or as mankind have ceased to be *afraid of themselves*.

The anxious mariner, learns from newspapers, many of the *tides*, *tornados*, *pestilences*, and *piracies*, that await and concern his

* The march of mind seldom *retreats* ; for when men have once got information, they generally retain it while their senses exist.

profession, and the fate of many a roving companion, in different parts of the world.

The lovers of song or poetry, frequently have their senses regaled with a *posey*, selected or fresh blown, from the garden of the muses.

Newspapers furnish accounts of the new and useful discoveries and improvements, that are perpetually augmenting the general comforts and conveniences of life.

The moral, political, scientific, and other subjects discussed in newspapers, by judicious selections, and original productions, are often highly interesting and instructive.

That endless variety and succession of new and interesting matter usually conveyed in well regulated and judiciously conducted newspapers, never cloy the mind; but generally increases a taste and appetite for reading and *general science*, and ultimately supplies the place of more expensive, idle and vitiating amusements.

A person who continues to read well conducted newspapers for a considerable length of time, and judiciously reflects on the matter and subjects of their contents, must naturally possess a tolerable share of information.

I hardly know what would induce me to be deprived of my newspapers. I might almost as well be cut short of my bread.

But all newspapers are not of the character and description I would approve.

Some perhaps might be properly considered as the designing advocates of office hunters, or instruments of men in power, and others might often be rated as the *criers* and *bell-men* of speculators and sharpers. Such papers generally strive to give the *fairest side* of their own case, and the *foulest side* of their adversaries, and other-ways (I wont say *wise*) employ deceptive artifice to disguise the principal objects of their intention. They are seldom candid and faithful to *the people*; who generally want to know the TRUTH—the *whole truth*, and *nothing but the truth*.

We should never accustom ourselves to read or hear *only one side*, or trust our opinions to a mere party statement, more espe-

cially on any subject of importance, for fear of being deceived, and ultimately wronged, or rendered ridiculous.

I have generally made it a rule, on all party subjects, to read about an equal quantity of matter from both—to hear *both sides*, fairly, before I drew any positive conclusions, on subjects of any considerable magnitude, in regard to either. This, I think, is a necessary and fair rule.

Newspapers have an immense power and influence, in enlightening and protecting the common people, or in deceiving and robbing them, just as their managers are inclined. We should be on our guard, and endeavour to perceive whom they are endeavouring to serve, the many, or the *few* at the expense and injury of the many.

Public Sentinel.

THE general character, qualifications and importance, of an able and faithful PUBLIC SENTINEL, does not appear to be sufficiently understood and regarded.

In the first place, a *public sentinel*, should be, a man of first rate talents, possessed of considerable experience, and a good stock of general information—of unquestionable honesty, and attachment to the principles of moral and political justice—endowed with an active, penetrating, capacious, retentive and independent mind, never to be bought with an office or other bribe, nor to be intimidated or terrified out of his duty, but always attentive and steady to his purposes, the PUBLIC GOOD, the present and future prosperity and glory of mankind. Stationed, as it were, upon an eminence far above the common level, diligently watching and surveying all around him, beginning at his own immediate vicinity and extending his views as time and opportunity indulge, warning his patrons, in particular, and the public in general, of the treachery, negligence, or inability of their public servants, and of other dangers and encroachments upon their common rights and liberties.

A faithful public sentinel, should especially examine and report

with freedom and candor, the general character, qualifications, and fitness of men offered for public services of considerable trust and importance. He should test the general *principles* and soundness of public measures, and the policy and conduct of public servants. As time and opportunity would justify and indulge, he should endeavour to illustrate the true sources of public enterprise, wealth, prosperity and glory.

In short, the duties of a public sentinel are immense, and deservedly rate those who perform the task with ability and fidelity to the public good, among the most worthy friends and promoters of common justice and humanity. There are but few if any services rendered to society, of comparative merit and importance.

There is a most important and indispensable *duty*, which every true and consistent friend of justice and humanity, owes to himself and society, in such cases ; and which mainly consists in rewarding, liberally, and *punctually*, those who perform the duties of faithful public sentinels, and in supporting them promptly and manfully in the performance of their duties. Indeed, men who conduct so stupidly, or basely, as to neglect, or rob, those who faithfully investigate and promote the public good, (especially those brave and indefatigable men who constantly expose themselves to the enemy, as it were, upon the very *pinnacle* of public danger,) ought to be deprived of their *liberty*—at least until they return to a proper sense of their *duty*.

But I fear there will be but few such sentinels found mounted upon the high ramparts of the republic—hardly enough to be within *hail* of each other.

The editor or conductor of a common public newspaper, is not entitled to the name of a public sentinel, in the way I estimate them. Some papers are chiefly the *repeaters* or *echoes* of what others have wrote or sounded—although they often contain judicious selections of matter, and are useful vehicles of public intelligence ; and most of those who devote the chief part of their time and attention to select, write and arrange matter for their papers, are not deserving of the name of public sentinels, in the sense I view them. A public sentinel, or rather a *republican sentinel*, stands on an eminence as much above the editor or conduct-

or of a common newspaper, in point of honor, respectability and importance to the community, as the chief magistrate is above the lowest public servant.

The conductors of our newspapers and other publications, are too often the slaves of some narrow prejudices, or crooked policy, or the mere creatures and tools of office hunters, or men in power.

Some editors are blustering and struggling to puff or juggle *themselves* into office ;—perhaps the last resort of some young, or hopeless *pettifogger*, who had hardly learned to go alone, or who had not talents or weight of character, sufficient to get a living by the wits and *extraordinary* indulgences of his profession. Such characters sometimes set themselves up as *public guides*—as *arbiters* of human destiny—a sort of *political wizards*, who profess to know the peoples' *thoughts*—who they prefer for office, and who not, better in fact than the people *themselves* !

Any person, however deficient in qualifications, or evilly disposed, may, in this country, establish and conduct a newspaper, or other publication, and act professionally as public guide and instructor.

There are indeed many such characters already engaged in our country, who appear studiously intent on *deceiving* the people—labouring, ultimately to *mislead* the public inquiries, and the ingenuity, enterprise and energies of our citizens, in almost every thing that concerns our present and future independence, prosperity, happiness and true glory.

Some at least of those individuals, and their efforts and designs, deserve *marking*.

A public editor may be a *public impostor*.

Sometimes our newspaper establishments are *secretly* owned and conducted, or some how controlled by one or a number of individuals for the purpose of advocating and managing in *disguise*, their own private interests and designs. Such papers or publications are frequently *given* away, or furnished without any hopes or prospects of *direct* pay, to a certain description of ignorant or unsuspicious readers, for the purpose of influencing and managing them for the benefit of the individuals concerned.

I could here state a number of curious facts in regard to such transactions, if it were not too minute and personal for the gene-

ral purposes of my remarks. I should hardly believe, however, that the readers of such papers or publications, generally, if they knew their character and designs, and reflected on the consequences, would consent to be thus *stuffed* and *tutored* for the use and convenience of hypocrites and jugglers behind a screen. Indeed, I should be ashamed to be seen in possession of such a paper or publication, for fear of being considered one of the fools or puppets of the concern. I should much rather choose my own books, papers and publications, and *pay* for them, like a FREE MAN.

It is totally inconsistent with the character of a virtuous, enlightened and free people, to entrust their dearest rights and concerns, to the chief management and control of men, whose very *professions* often interest them in involving every moral and political truth in *mystery* and *uncertainty*, in order to increase and prolong their own private influence and gains.

When a man acts professionally as a public sentinel, he is honorably bound to be true and faithful to the general interests and concerns of his patrons, and cannot abandon or betray his trust on slight grounds. Neither can he assume to himself the airs of a dictator: although he may rightfully express his own views and opinions, on subjects of public interest and concern, with freedom and candor, as such. But his publication should endeavor to convey the concentrated sentiments and opinions of the people, and be mainly *their* organ and public guide.

Every editor of a public print, should keep the confidence of his correspondents, for all justifiable and honorable purposes, with the most inviolable secrecy and caution. Unless this part of his duty is complied with, an editor is not worthy of his station.

A public sentinel should find his account for his labors, in *the amount received for his paper*. If a publication will not thus *support itself*, it ought to be abandoned.

When a public sentinel becomes an *office seeker*, he forfeits the public confidence in his candor and independence; and generally becomes a flatterer of the vanities, and concealer of the errors of the popular mass, in order to gain a momentary triumph over them—instead of enlightening the people truly, and warning them

against hypocrites and public impostors, as a faithful PUBLIC SENTINEL.

A man who will compromise his principles for an office, is always ready for a *bribe*.

Discussions of the principles and measures of government ; the morals of society : and every thing, in fine, that concerns the public in general, should be conducted with a degree of independence, candor and fairness, becoming the dignity and importance of the general concern. Indeed, no man should ever, with impunity, be permitted to trifle with the public. THE MAJESTY OF A MILLION OF SOVEREIGN PEOPLE, should command at least as much respect as that *phantom* of human greatness, commonly called a king, emperor, or *sovereign prince*.

Many of our editors and publishers are so miserably poor and dependant, in their pecuniary circumstances and supplies, as to be unable to act with any degree of firmness, candor and ability becoming a PUBLIC SENTINEL.

In order to enable a public sentinel to act with necessary independence and steadiness of purpose, his pay should be somehow *secured* to him, and not left dependant on the carelessness, extreme poverty or knavery of whoever might apply for the publication. Perhaps a subscription scattered throughout a state, or nation, that would hardly pay for insurance and collection, is left for his reward, in the common way.

Every honest and prudent man, who duly considers the subject, and calculates the advantages secured to himself, and to the community, by the practice, would certainly prefer paying in *advance*, in such cases—and especially when there was ample responsibility pledged, (as there always should be,) for the faithful performance, on the part of the publisher, or a prompt return of the funds. Only the difference that might be afforded in the *price* of a paper or publication of the kind, would make a saving of importance, to all who ever calculate to *pay*.

The editors and publishers of our newspapers and other publications, have an immense power and influence in forming and regulating our moral and political principles, habits, and general character. We should therefore always be extremely thoughtful

of *whom* we patronize and encourage in such undertakings—see that we are not in fact practising *treason* against society, by affording aid and comfort to the *enemy* of truth, and human prosperity.

If the people of the United States will duly encourage and support, those who ably and faithfully investigate, point out and vindicate the public good—whatever concerns the general peace, security, intelligence, prosperity and happiness of the community, our future task will be easy, and the burden light. One man may display the light of his knowledge and discernment, for the benefit of thousands and millions.

There is a mutual obligation between a public sentinel and his patrons, which ought never to be lost sight of—HE is in duty bound *to serve them*, as a faithful public sentinel—to spy out the enemy at a distance, and give the necessary alarm or information—to dart his eagle eyes over their extensive and numerous public concerns, while they are busily engaged with their daily labours and private cares, and warn them of the existence, or approach of, public evils : and THEY are not only bound to *reward* him, punctually and honorably, but to *support* him, promptly and manfully, in the performance of his duty. And last of all, to honour him as a public benefactor, if he finally proves to deserve the gratitude of his fellow-beings.

Education and Instruction of the People.

AMONG the immense mass of literary and other matter that circulates in this country, in the form of books, magazines, &c. there is scarcely one thousandth part that is well calculated to improve the education, intelligence and actual condition of *the people*.

Some think our college learned men, (who generally contrive to control, directly and indirectly, most of the sources of education and learning,) do not desire to have the people better or more suitably educated and instructed, lest they should no longer be able to *lead* and *drive* them : others impute the evil, in a great measure, to the want of adequate and efficient *protection* to the rights of American authors of useful books and publications—

that, as our laws concerning copy rights, are now miserably defective, trifled with and evaded, no prudent man would hazard any considerable labour and expense on an original work or publication—however valuable, and however much they are needed by the people.

It is certainly feared that many, if not most of those who have the chief hand in making and administering our national laws, from habit, inclination, interest and policy, feel opposed to the genuine republicanism of our country—and that they finally study to promote the interests of the *few*, to the neglect, embarrassment and injury of the many.

This is a serious matter, and loudly demands the attention of every true and consistent republican of our country. It is indeed affirmed as the solemn conviction of some, that in many of our cities, towns and other considerable districts of country, a majority of the inhabitants, and altogether the most productive, efficient and worthy members of society, have but little more political influence, than so many cattle or machines; that *lawyers*, and a few of their particular interest, policy, feelings and designs, claim and exercise the chief rule—a kind of **POLITICAL—INQUISITORIAL—SOVEREIGNTY**.

If the people had a proper and sufficient republican education, and were suitably instructed on their several interests and public concerns, these things would soon be altered, and the *wolves* and *vultures* of society, would no longer be able to rule, and to prey upon the industry, virtue and best interests of the community; but the *general good* would be studiously sought for, and substantially promoted—virtue, industry and public usefulness would be protected, encouraged, and truly honoured, and indolence and treachery punished, discouraged and finally put down.

A few words of Advice to Freemen and Republican Electors.

It is not necessary, or expedient, in general, to have many words with those who have forfeited our trust and confidence as

public servants, by violating the proper business of their appointment, or any way betraying, or trifling with, the public concern—until at least some efficient method of bringing *them* to justice, like other offenders, shall have been effected.

To be true to ourselves, and act as intelligent, interested and *consistent* members of the community, we should always endeavour to select for public servants, those whom we know to be *honest*, and *capable*, and devoted to the general *principles* of human rights and improvement ; and particularly those who participate in the common interests and welfare of society. We certainly never should entrust with the public authority and concern, those who, professionally or otherways subsist or enrich themselves upon the *spoils* of human virtue, industry and merit—the very *wolves* and *vultures* of society !

It may have been very readily foreseen, that unprincipled and designing men, generally, whether professionally or otherways interested against the peoples' best good—seeing their craft detected and their policy and influence declining, would endeavour to promote to office and popularity, their particular friends, or dependents, and those who were *secretly* or otherways interested, or pledged to the support of their views—that they may thus rule in *disguise*, until some turn or circumstance might bring them back again into open and undisguised authority. It would also be fair to presume, that those of this craft and policy, would conspire, with every little artifice and cunning in their power, *secretly* or openly to hinder the popularity and elevation of men who are known to be opposed to their conduct and policy. Nothing is more probable than, that unprincipled and designing lawyers, and their confederates in interest and policy, with their *spies*, *tale-bearers*, *false witnesses* and *undertakers*, will labor to hunt down the actual and best friends of the people. Indeed, the warfare has long been going on, and in many instances with an effrontery and appearance of design, too glaring and detestable to be doubted or neglected, a moment longer.

To govern, and *not be governed*, is the common trade, interest and policy, of unprincipled and aspiring individuals, and combinations of men—whether as lawyers, priests, aristocracies, or those

trained up as sovereign princes—although they exercise different powers, and contend for different privileges.

The members of our national legislature—representatives in congress, are one, to forty or fifty thousand inhabitants, and generally differ widely from the common people, in their circumstances, interests and feelings ; and consequently, they seldom truly represent *the people*. Some, busy themselves while in office, in seeking undue privileges and advantages for themselves, families, friends, dependents, or confederates in policy, over their constituents and fellow-men. Our United States senators, exist upon a far more aristocratic scale, as to numbers, being one from about forty thousand, to upwards of *eight hundred thousand* !

The representatives in our state legislatures, including the senates or upper houses, are probably one to, from five hundred, to *one hundred and ninety thousand* inhabitants ! and are proportionably subject to the same inequality of general circumstances, interests and feelings.

Send one of our plain substantial citizens to congress, or to some of our state legislatures, a few years, and quite likely he would contract a kind of hankering after higher power, and more perquisites and privileges of office. These matters we should always bear in mind, when delegating authority, and when reviewing the conduct of public servants.

Our town or freemen's meetings—where the people meet and *act for themselves*, are by far the most important sources of public expression, intelligence and authority. And here we might act much more intelligently, extensively and effectually, than we now do, for our general good, if the public business and proceedings were properly *systemized*, arranged, *understood*, and prepared for, in season.

If the public business was properly prepared for, and seasonably made known, discussed or understood, so as to enable the freemen or electors to come forward duly prepared to act, in cases that required their attention and decision, one day's meeting in a year might generally be sufficient for all common purposes. This would render town meetings, or primary assemblages of the people, freemen or electors, sufficiently interesting and important to gain their prompt and general attention.

We should never delegate authority to others, which we can conveniently and effectually perform ourselves. As every unnecessary or injudicious relinquishment of authority, has a general tendency to *diminish* the liberty, influence and power, of those who give it, and to *increase* the power and influence of those who receive it.

The people are the true, just and *only sovereigns* of this country, to whom all public power and authority, of right belongs; and who always have a right to make, alter, or amend *the supreme law of the land*—our public constitutions; and without ever obtaining leave or *permission* of public servants !

In strict republican justice, every good and efficient citizen—after they have come of age, or arrived at common manhood, and while they contribute specifically and essentially to the support and defence of the country, are entitled to a voice in the public concerns, as good, intelligent and interested members of the community, or great family concern.

Interest, and not principle, chiefly govern and control the actions of those who rule mankind.

The French revolution soon produced a more powerful monarchy and aristocracy, than the one it had upset; and which was chiefly owing to the lack of *honesty* in the leaders.

An unusual share of *hypocrisy* and *impudence*, seems to be the leading points of character, of many who are studiously pushing themselves forward, in our time and country, by nominating and electioneering machinery; and generally with a design and intent to rule, as far as possible, *appointments* to inferior offices, so as to extend their influence and control.

We see leaders, here among us, professedly devoted to the common interests and best good of the people, turning out one set of men in power, *pretendedly* to correct their errors and abuses of public confidence and authority, but really to obtain their places and practice essentially the same, or worse, under some hypocritical difference, or quibbling pretence.

It should be remarked, and constantly bore in mind—as a branch of human policy and cunning; that, soon after our political revolution of '98, had been established, many of the most de-

terminated and influential democrats, were *courted*—urged to send their sons to college; have them enter into the study and practice of law; engage or become interested in foreign commerce and trade, and otherways wed and tie themselves and families to the *habits, interests* and ultimate policy of the old aristocracy of the country!

A similar *courtship* was commenced soon after the termination of the revolutionary, and late war!

We should denounce, and indignantly dismiss from office, support and encouragement, whoever attempts to deceive the people, or any way violate, or trifle with, the public interest and concern. The *majesty* of A MILLION OF FREEMEN, ought not to be trifled with.

If the freemen of the United States, will only be thoughtful of what papers or publications they *read, encourage* and *SUPPORT*, and be careful how they *VOTE*, their actual and best good may be soon accomplished, and at the cheapest and best rate.

Come to the resolution, at once, that you will *not* support, nor encourage, those who do not conduct themselves faithfully to the general and best good of the people, and the work is done.

Virtuous and Wise Policy. No. 1.

To *prevent* the origin of natural, moral, and political evil, is far more important than to devise remedies.

To avoid the infirmities and diseases that are inclined to afflict the human body, by well timed and appropriate precautions, is better than to neglect their origin and rely upon remedies or means of cure.

To *prevent* the commission of criminal and other offences against the laws and good of society, by a seasonable and judicious education, and means of restraint, is of much greater importance, both in a moral and political point of view, than to neglect their origin and depend chiefly upon modes of conviction, punishment and reformation.

To *prevent* the origin and existence of human poverty, degra-

dation and misery, by seasonably promoting the best means to induce, and enable mankind, to take timely and proper care in providing for themselves, is infinitely better, than to neglect the *cause* of human vagrancy and want, and then provide bountifully for their support and accommodation.

Perhaps a doctor might entertain objections to this course of policy and conduct—and say that, if he were actually to employ his best advice and assistance, to enable mankind to *avoid* debility, disease and ill health, as much as possible—teach them, in plain practical language, to understand the *cause* and *nature* of their complaints, and the best remedies within their common means; he might, by so doing, not only lose his time and trouble, in a measure, but would be pretty sure to curtail the sources of his future professional business and gains, in proportion to his success in the undertaking. It is true, all the precautions in the power of human wisdom, could not prevent the final destruction of human life; yet a reasonable and wise attention to the best means of preserving health, and avoiding every possible infirmity and disease; and of understanding them, and managing the remedies within our common control, would greatly abridge the business and ultimate profits of the physician.

Perhaps a lawyer, too, might object, and say that, if those of his profession were to employ the best means in their power to *prevent* the excitement and commission of criminal and other offences, against the laws and general good of society, they might no doubt diminish the evil to one fourth, and perhaps to one eighth of its present magnitude; but then, by so doing, they would *decrease* the usual profits and sources of their professional business, power and influence, in a like proportion.

The rich, haughty and overbearing aristocrat, compares his situation with the ignorant, the poor and needy about him, and feels a proportionate consequence and exultation *by the contrast*.

Extreme poverty and dependence, humbles, and ultimately enslaves, those, who, in this free country, might otherwise enjoy a degree of freedom and political equality. Ignorance, depravity of character, and extreme poverty or dependence, disqualifies men

for self-government, and forms an excuse for the establishment and exercise of arbitrary restrictions upon human liberties.

The pride, and policy, of the haughty and overbearing aristocrat, is pampered and indulged by every additional burden, calamity and degradation, suffered by the common people. Every thing, in fine, that has a tendency to diminish the general intelligence, virtue, competence and *self-dependance* of the common people, ultimately subverts our liberty and independence, to arbitrary and overbearing ruthorities.

We can perceive, by the examples of the old world, that every additional burden and affliction, heaped directly or indirectly upon the common people, reduces them to dependance for employment, and support, upon the wealthy and powerful.

Ignorance, depravity of character, and want, among the common people of the old world, seems to justify, in a measure, their strong measures of government, or the imposition of unconditional control.

Hence every good member of society who desires the progress of virtue, liberty and human happiness, should employ every reasonable means in his power, to promote the most effectual *preventatives* to natural, moral and political evils.

The choice of *healthy* countries, situations and employments, should be regarded; early and judicious instruction and habits of industry, virtue and *self-defendance*, should be inculcated and encouraged, by all who desire the perpetuation and prosperity of this republican community.

Indiscriminate imprisonment for debt, wherever individuals are found destitute of property, without first having an investigation of their general circumstances and conduct, and ascertaining the *reality* and *cause* of their embarrassment, confounds rogues and honest men in one common result, and absolutely *encourages* knavery, and *discourages* honesty and fair dealing.

If a man has lost his property or been deprived of the means of paying his debts, by actual and unforeseen misfortunes, it might be unjust and impolitic to imprison his body—in some instances it would be absolutely barbarous; but if an individual has stupidly spent his time in indolence, or wantonly squandered his proper-

ty in profligate habits, or basely lost the property trusted to him, in heedless or hazardous speculations, he actually deserves some *punishment*, for the offence.

Never shut a man up and maintain him at the expense of the public, or individuals ; but provide him with work or means to *support himself*, if able to work ; and let his punishment be measured according to the nature and magnitude of his offence.

Indiscriminate relief to all who solicit alms, or claim support as public paupers, without first ascertaining the *reality* of their condition, and the *cause* of their want or inability to support themselves, confounds impostors with real objects of charity ; and ultimately *encourages* indolence, vagrancy and fraud, and *discourages* virtue, industry and self-dependence.

When people ask charity, or claim support as common paupers, it should first be ascertained that they were unable to support themselves, and otherwise deserving of our charity, before their requests should be granted. It is often an unpleasant task to inquire and ascertain the real character and condition of those who solicit our charities and indulgences, but it is a *duty* we owe to ourselves and society ; and those who perform this duty, with candor and ability, often do, for the present and future good of society, more, by far, than those who *indiscriminately* bestow immense indulgences and charitable donations, for the benefit of pretended objects of charity.

By establishing a general rule for distinguishing between honest men and rogues, before we act definitely in regard to either, would produce an excellent effect on the habits and morals of society, by encouraging people to be honest and industrious, in order to be entitled to our sympathies and indulgences, and denying or punishing them for a contrary course of conduct.

Every plan, effort or undertaking, judiciously calculated to *prevent* human want and misery, are more entitled to the approbation, support and gratitude of mankind, than the most liberal efforts and bounties in relief.

One preventive is worth ten cures.

If you would have vagrancy and want, only *encourage* them with a liberal bounty or indulgence.

People who have idled away their time, or wasted their property, *ought* to suffer, as a matter of justice to themselves, and as a warning to others. Why then should our sympathies be indulged at the sight of poverty or want, before we know whether they were the just punishment of vice and folly, or the result of real accidents and unforeseen causes.

Many of our poor-house establishments and other charitable appropriations, might be properly entitled *SCHOOLS* of human *degradation*, *want* and *misery*, with comfortable accommodations for all who despise habits of *care*, *industry*, *temperance*, *economy* and *self-dependence*.

Want begets want, and misery begets misery.

Indolence and poverty loose their disgrace and terrors, by general sympathy and increase of numbers.

Men won't work, when they can obtain, even a miserable subsistence, by begging.

Mankind will naturally cease to exert themselves in making provision for their own future wants and accommodation, *in proportion as they see others making those provisions for them.*

Virtuous and Wise Policy. No. 2.

THERE should be a specific and appropriate *bounty*, established by law, for the detection and final apprehension of those who commit capital offences, against the laws and good order of society, especially when they attempt to escape, or conceal their offences : so that any person might pursue suspicious circumstances or individuals, *sure* of receiving a certain reward, in case they finally succeed in detecting or bringing into the hands of public authority, a capital offender.

There ought also to be a suitable and permanent encouragement held out to induce individuals to *lead* evil designers into the hands of justice, when plotting their schemes of villainy ; and al-

so for inducing offenders to bring each other out. This will no doubt meet the disapprobation of rogues or unprincipled men generally, and especially those who expect great gains from the multiplicity of trials for criminal and other offences. However, if this plan or policy is judiciously managed, conspiracies for base purposes would nighly cease, from the jealousies that would naturally be excited between evil minded individuals, and especially increasing the danger of *commencing* a plot, and of finally committing the *overt act*.

Those who administer the laws, and particularly judges, lawyers, and sheriffs, should always be bound, by their *oaths*, and every other obligation and consideration of principle and duty, to convict and punish offenders, whenever the laws will permit.—Not to connive at their final escape, after securing their own fees and profits of a trial—that they may excite, rather than restrain, evil passions, and thereby increase their own future business and gains, by the multiplication of criminal and other offences, and by prolonging a tedious, expensive and uncertain process of trial. A similar *craft*, in some measure, to that manifested by the *rat-catchers*—a profession of men in Liverpool, who, after they have cleared a ship of rats, by contract, (they take them alive in a large sack, by some bait or artifice peculiar to their business,) they refuse to *kill* them, but take them on to the wharf and let them loose—well knowing that the rats will soon be on board of some vessel, and that some of their craft will probably have the job of catching them *again*, and *again* ! It may be observed, however, that the rat-catchers only sport with the petty depredation of brutes, for their own peculiar benefit ; but those who study to effect the escape, and multiplication of criminal and other offenders, for their own peculiar ends, not only trifle with the human character in a most infamous manner, but set the whole good of civil society at defiance, to increase their own private gains !

The *certainty* of punishment, is the greatest terror to rogues or persons dishonestly inclined, and its *uncertainty*, is their greatest hope and encouragement. This fact should never be lost sight of, by those who wish to promote the good of society.

Some of our State prisons might be appropriately styled *SCHOOLS*

of *human degradation* and *villainy*, with *comfortable accommodations* for all who *despise* voluntary labor, and the rights and good of their fellow-beings.

Some, who have taken their second and third degrees in these schools of infamy and corruption, might properly be entitled *masters* and *doctors* of villainy !

Established Rate of Interest for the Use of Money.

OUR laws, regulating the rate of interest for the use of money, are neither consistent with justice, nor good policy.

Nothing proves more generally true, than that, laws imposing *unjust*, or *unnecessary* restrictions upon the common transactions of society, excite both disrespect for the laws, and evasions of their final penalty. Suppose there should be laws regulating the *price* of labour, or of any particular article of produce, manufactures, or merchandize, without any regard to the *scarcity* or *demand* for the same—the *quantity* contemplated, or the *terms* of payment—we should certainly consider them as unjust and unnecessary regulations. This is precisely the case with the laws regulating the rate of interest for the use of money.

One man wants to borrow, only 5 or 20 dollars, another 50 or 100, and others 1000, to 10,000, or more ; one wants the money for only 10, 30, or 60 days, another for six months, or a year, and others for 5 or 10 years, or upwards ; one pledges the most sure property for the final payment of the money, another gives a good endorser, and others have no other security than their own names, and those often precarious. Now it would appear absurd to suppose that a man should be obliged to take precisely the same *rate* of interest, for all these different hazards and accommodations.—The interest would not more than pay him for transacting the business, of taking security, *inspecting* and counting the money out, and back, in cases of small sums and short loans ; and in others, the interest would not more than pay a fair premium for hazarding the credit ; and if the money was loaned on short terms, it must be on hand a considerable part of the time, so that a man might

not have his money actually out at interest, more than half the time, or six months in a year.

This restriction upon the receipt of interest, induces people to evade the provisions of the law ; but, as there is a risk of being detected, and of losing the whole sum, the hazard must be made up by the borrower, in an addition to what would be otherwise satisfactory.

The loss ultimately falls chiefly upon a class of people who are the least able to bear it, and the gain generally goes to enrich a set of hard and crooked sharpers, who have already become dangerous to the well-being of the community.

These are not all the evil consequences resulting from regulating the rate of interest. It occasions an immense number of law suits, and sacrifices of property. When money is scarce, and the use of it is worth considerable more than the rate of legal interest, many will enforce the collection of monies due them, merely to invest it *more profitably* ; others take such times to exercise a kind of despotism over their fellow men, and oppress them, or compel them to sacrifice property, that they may take the advantage of it. Yet in most cases the suits and sacrifices would both be avoided, if men were permitted to come into a fair competition for the use of money, and to take a just rate of interest.

The rate of interest for the use of money, should be left a free matter of contract. If individuals are disposed to make foolish bargains, there is a variety of other ways for them to do it in, besides borrowing money at more than legal interest—which, in fact, the laws do not *prevent*.

As the case now is, the laws regulating the rate of interest for the use of money, cause numerous sacrifices and embarrassments, to the ultimate injury of a worthy class of people, and chiefly for the benefit of lawyers, sheriffs, and sharpers.

There might be a certain rate of interest established by law, in all cases where it was not defined, by written contract ; and perhaps some bounds might be set above what it should not go ; and contracts defining the rate of interest, might be specially witnessed with an attested knowledge of the contract.

I could produce a volume of evidence and arguments in support of this subject ; but perhaps what has already been said, may be sufficient.

Remarks on Taxation.

VISIBLE property and privileges, are the only just, and wise, or consistent subjects of taxation.

That which is not visible or tangible, is *imaginary*, as a property, or the *representative* of something that is real, and as it respects a state or nation at large, it is generally useless, as it must be based in something that is a real property of itself.

Notes, bonds, or obligations for the payment of money, are *promises*, which are only valuable as they are founded in something that is real, and available as a property—something that has an intrinsic value *in itself*—which is of itself, subject to taxes.—Hence, if you tax both the real property, *and* the promise which is founded in it, you ultimately subject the holder of the real property, thus situated, to an undue proportion of taxes ; for every prudent and calculating money lender, generally estimates the nett per centage of interest that would be satisfactory for the use of his money, and then *adds* the probable amount of taxes, risks, troubles and expenses, or some how includes the same in the contract and final obligation : so that the *borrower* is, at last, saddled with every thing that operates as a burden on money at interest.

Suppose a township, or district of country, the inhabitants of which hold a million dollars worth of real property, subject to taxation, and owe half a million dollars borrowed money, for which the holders of their obligations are taxed—in such case, they pay taxes for *treble* the amount of property they are actually worth—that is, the holders of the real property, are actually worth but *half* a million, over and above what they owe, and yet have finally to pay the amount of taxes that occurs on ONE MILLION AND A HALF—three times the amount of what they are worth !

Or, to show the subject upon a smaller scale. Suppose a man in

possession of ten thousand dollars worth of visible property, subject to taxes, which is pledged for the final payment of five thousand dollars—he would then have to pay the taxes that actually occur on *fifteen* thousand, although in fact, he is worth but *five* thousand.

A law requiring every man to give an account of his private loans, is considered so unjust and absurd, that but few people will comply with it.

Burdening money at interest, is like taxing *promises*, or an imaginary property, and ultimately placing an undue proportion of taxes on those who employ borrowed capital. It is much worse, for every attempt to tax the holders of promises for money loaned, operates in the end, as a tax on *industry* and *honesty*, for the encouragement and final support of *indolence* and *dishonesty*.

Every thing in fact, that subjects borrowed money to an unnecessary expense, hazard, quibble or delay in collection, operates as a final burden on the industry and integrity of the country, and for the encouragement and support of indolence and knavery.

Real property, is located and distributed with a degree of permanence and equality, throughout a state or country ; but *promises* for the payment of money, are generally as fluctuating in the place of their existence, and nighly as uncertain in their final value, as the faith and fortune of traders and speculation.

If it were just and reasonable, to tax money at all, the burden and penalty should be fixed on those, who *hoard up* the actual treasure of a country, and stop its circulation and public usefulness. But never tax those, who lend their money on just and honourable conditions, for promoting the useful industry and business of the country.

Every attempt to tax, or jeopardise money at interest, induces people to hoard up, or make concealments of their funds, or to send the active capital out of the state or country, to avoid unreasonable hazards and burden ; and this too, often to the great injury of the taxing, or jeopardizing state or country.

The title to real estate, should be rendered as plain and sure as possible ; and the pledging of it, for the final security of money, should be divested of every unnecessary litigation, hazard and ex-

pense ; as in such cases, it enables the owners, whenever they need, to borrow money on the best terms ; and generally with the least final risk to themselves, for when a man of good property or responsibility, obtains an *endorser*, as security for the final conditions or payment of his note, by endorsing in return, he thereby assumes a risk for others, that, in this case, would be entirely avoided.

By taxing the vices, and follies or extravagances of mankind, has a *double* tendency to improve the condition of society ; as in the first place, it discourages and corrects the excesses so taxed, and at the same time produces a fund out of those who transgress, for the ultimate correction and support of their own unruly or helpless victims. Thereby relieving the better part of community from the troubles and expense, resulting from intemperance.

If only the tavern, and store-keepers, or those who retail ardent spirits and other intoxicating liquors, were subject to a reasonable and proportionable tax, for their licences or privilege of retailing, it would raise a fund for the future correction and support, of their own unruly or helpless victims.

Political Knowledge.

THE people of the United States, have probably had more political light and experience, than all the world besides ; for, in the first place, the population of this country, are, in a greater or less degree, made up of emigrants from almost every other place or country, who generally bring along with them more or less information in regard to the laws, customs, and political institutions of their own native country ; and history hands down to us, all that was thought worth recording of the different governments, down to the present time. Besides, our own experience, in all our different state sovereignties, and national concerns ; through all our changes, and extremes, of war, and peace, oppression, and liberty, adversity and prosperity, together with the general freedom of discussion established in this country, gives us far greater means of pos-

sessing correct and extensive political knowledge, than the people of any other nation or country.

We began the world *anew*, as it were, and employed all the light and experience of foreign countries, and former times, in aid of our own judgment, in making experiments in the science of government. While the people of other countries, hardly dare *think* on the subject of politics, for fear of bringing their own shackles and wounds to bear more grievously.

In this country, every individual of the community, in general, are interested in the government, and every sensible and good man feels more or less disposed to aid in the adoption of the wisest and best measures for the general good.

Having actually carried into effect and demonstrated the greatest improvements in government, of any other nation or people ; our care and attention should be rigidly directed to detect, and eradicate from our systems, and habits, whatever remains of king-craft, or the plagues of monarchy ; and studiously to avoid every thing of the kind in future, in our civil policy, measures of government, education, customs and habits of life.

A Brief Contrast between some of the Leading Particulars of Monarchy and Republicanism.

MONARCHY, has a tendency to enrich, embellish and aggrandize, the *metropolis* or chief residence of the sovereign and his court, to the neglect, impoverishment and degradation of the other parts of the nation or their dominions.

Under the Roman despots, the city of *Rome* was the privileged place, to be enriched, embellished and aggrandized, with the plunder and exactions drawn from other provinces and places : *Constantinople*, is the chief receptacle of tributary and degraded Turkey : *Petersburgh*, glitters and banquets, with exactions drawn from the Russian dominions : The chief spoil and playthings of the French monarchy, centre at *Paris* ; and *London* teems and sports with the riches, for which British provinces and foreign do-

minions are stinted, and tasked, or robbed of their wealth, liberty and independence.

In a REPUBLIC, there is no privileged place ; nor sovereign chief with his pensioned and tinselled brood, to attract the gaze and wonder of the silly throng ; or to draw together and fatten a host of corrupt and hypocritical courtiers and sharpers : But every part, place, and individual, are entitled to their equal and just care, representation, protection, and encouragement. One place, part, or individual, cannot be stinted or tasked for the benefit of another ; but all subsist upon terms of reciprocal justice and good fellowship—

"All served—all serving."

Monarchy, forbids the common freedom of speech, and of the press, to *prevent* the light and progress of truth, justice, reason, and human improvement, and to veil and protect the corrupt and deceptive policy and conduct of its chief managers, from detection and punishment.

Republicanism, invites and *protects* the freedom of speech, and of the press, to encourage and facilitate the progress of truth, justice, reason, and human improvement, and to expel darkness, corruption and oppression, from human society.

Monarchy has a tendency to enrich, elevate and adorn, indolence, vice and folly, and to tax and degrade industry, virtue and human excellence.

On the contrary, republicanism tends to punish and degrade indolence and dishonesty, and to enrich, elevate and honor human virtue, industry and merit.

Juryman's Guide.

JURIES—in order to act consistently, and wisely, and to prolong and extend their usefulness and respectability, should endeavour to act with as much understanding, and independence, as possible. Many men, while acting as jurymen, have suffered them-

selves to be dictated and trifled with, by judges, and lawyers, and often ruled so much that they can scarcely be said to have exercised any judgment or opinion of *their own*, in their final decision of cases. Such jurymen generally seem to study to catch and follow the opinion or will of some judge, lawyer, or other *leading* or *driving* character, instead of forming an opinion of their own, from the evidence and law, in the case before them. This, unfortunately for the cause of justice, liberty and humanity, is chiefly owing to the want of proper intelligence and instruction on the subject of their duties.

The highly important duties required of us as jurymen—so indispensable to the cause of justice, liberty and humanity—and which in fact, properly belongs to every man who sits in solemn judgment upon the life, liberty, reputation, or fortune, of a fellow being, demands that we should let every other consideration rest, but that of our duty towards God and society, and seriously exert our reason and best judgment, in deciding whatever properly comes before us, in such cases.

Lord Mansfield, that *tyrant of law*, was not perhaps more hostile to the actual usefulness, respectability and preservation, of JURIES, than some of our little knaves and tyrants on the throne of judgment.

There ought to be published, in a neat little volume, a correct definition of the nature and character of the various criminal and other offences, subject to the examination, trial and final decision of jurors, duly simplified, classed and arranged ; together with a faithful explanation of the proper business, province and duties of jurors, to serve as JURYMAN'S GUIDE : so that every body, at least, of grand and petit jurymen, should have the same, to guide and assist them in the correct and faithful performance of their arduous and important duties ; and so as to guard against the errors, and partialities, of every different court, and different judge—their various charges, (no two of which was ever alike,) defining, (according to their individual will, or judgment—but seldom if ever correctly, and never sufficiently extensive and explicit,) the duty of jurors, and the nature and character of the different offences within their province, and of what was law, in the several cases.

Such a publication, if ably and faithfully performed, would save our jurymen individually, a great deal of time, and trouble; correct, improve, and *systematize* the proper business of juries generally, and finally serve to perfect, extend and perpetuate their usefulness.

It is inconsistent with our character, as a community of republicans, and certainly at direct variance with the professions of our republican leaders, that such a work has not long ago been published and in general use, and particularly when its necessity, utility, and importance, are duly considered.

We ought, also, to have a *code of probate law*, comprising all the law generally necessary for the settlement of deceased persons estates, duly simplified, arranged, and published in a neat little volume, to serve as a guide in such transactions; and to save us, the common people, as much as possible, from the unnecessary vexations, and ruinous expences, *snares* and *fangs* of LAW-CRAFT.

British System and Policy.

MANKIND are too apt to be *dazzled* out of their senses, by the *pomp* and *ceremony* of corrupt and arbitrary authorities, until we are made to FEEL the oppressor's gripe.

An American merchant, who had spent a considerable time in England, in a kind of *trading visiting* excursion,* became a great admirer of the British *system* and *policy*—that is, he thought them very fine for *gentlemen* to live under.†

* All clever and jolly—fine eating and drinking, and the prospect of good profits on his return home. John Bull, I guess, knows how to *bait* his best customers!

† Mechanics, manufacturers, and sailors, (the most valuable part of their population,) are not allowed common freedom, in Britain. They have to *disguise* themselves, under the assumed appearance of merchants or *gentlemen*, in order to get a passport or permission to leave the kingdom. Sailors are taken by *force*, as a kind of public *property*, whenever the ministry want them. But if a man has the appearance of

Some years after, (1803—4—5) the merchant had returned home to America, he embarked, with a valuable cargo of coffee, and other articles, for some port on the continent of Europe. They were captured, by a British cruizer, nigh the port of their destination, and carried into a port in England, for adjudication, as enemy's property ; and, after undergoing a tedious and vexatious detention and trial, and being subjected to an enormous bill of cost and other expenses, they were finally cleared, as bonafide American property.*

During their detention, the cargo got damaged, and the market to which they were bound, became glutted ; so that the voyage finally terminated in a very heavy loss.

After the American merchant had returned home, one of his old acquaintance, asked him how he *then* liked the British system and policy, to which he replied and said, " I would sooner take my dog and gun and retire to the wilderness and live like the Indians, than again put myself within the power of those *tyrants* of the ocean—who rob under *colour of law*, and *justice*, and make fine *speeches*, and solemn *prayers*, and perform tedious *ceremonies*, to conceal their actual designs ; the chief part of whose *labouring* population are actually but little better off than *slaves*."

a merchant, or *gentleman*—that is, dresses finely, and has not the vulgar airs or garb of having *earned* his living by the habitual exercise of some mechanical or manufacturing business, or by the occupation of a sailor, then, if he has none of these *marks* of John Bull's privileged subjects about him, he is entitled to *locomotion*—the privilege of going where he pleases. This is " **BRITISH FREEDOM !**" This is the fruits of a system and policy, that some of our American *gentlemen* are so much charmed and delighted with !

* The *lawyers* made a fine haul ; and seemed to say to the British cruizers, " Go catch *another* neutral for us—no matter whether he is innocent, or guilty—we would like to *try* them, all—over and over again." This **LAW WITHOUT JUSTICE** makes fine picking for lawyers !

The most truly Just and Honourable Profession of Men.

The FARMER, is the most truly just and honourable profession :—

In the first place, the profession or business of the farmer, is the most necessary or *useful* of any other ; and his habits are uniformly the most athletic, manly, temperate, healthy and wise. His business is also the freest from evil temptations, fraudulent transactions and designs.

Farmers are usually the most firm, undeviating patriots and supporters of our country, in peace and in war.

Our farmers are generally the most secure, and just in their dealings ; sincere in professions, and truly benevolent and humane, in their general conduct and disposition.

The Ameican farmer, first subdues the forest and its wild inhabitants, and brings the country into a state of productiveness, order and embellishment, for the general support, security, comfort and enjoyment of civilized man. It is his labour, enterprise and skill, that supplies us with the most important necessities and luxuries of life, produced from the soil.

Farmers generally reside in the country, where good air, good water, health, temperance and virtue most abound ; and where, with the use of plain solid food, regular and manly industry, the human constitution and character, both, are improved, renovated and preserved from the desolating and fatal effects of an idle and corrupt city life.

The regular and manly employment, which the body and mind of the farmer receives in the practice of his profession, gives him unequalled stability of character.

The *country* is emphatically the HOME of true virtue and liberty.

Most of our large cities and towns, would degenerate, if not actually depopulate and run out, were it not for the recruits they are continually receiving from the country and smaller towns.

The farmer generally despises those idle and dissipated habits ; *monkey* airs, and *artificial* wants, that distinguish the bloated pride, vanity and hypocrisy of a corrupt city life.

Farmers form no professional clubs or combinations for con-

cealing a knowledge of their profession, or for the monopoly of its practice : they use no mysterious artifices, blind language or juggling, to perplex or conceal the light or knowledge of their professional business, improvements or concerns : they require no test or license, to be *permitted* to exercise their honourable calling. But they freely and liberally give, without fee or reward, the light or knowledge of their improvements, and best advice, to the inexperienced and whoever may need or desire them. They enter into no combinations to set the laws, or the rights of their fellow-men at defiance ; or any way to secure to those of their profession, undue privileges or advantages.

The American farmer despises the base and unmanly customs and policies of the old world, combined and practised to rob and degrade honest labour. He discountenances their schemes of tenantry, and *under-tenantry* ; and generally chooses to cultivate his own soil, and to participate in the labor himself, as his regular and principal business.

Our farmers generally bring up their families in the regular habits of industry, economy and usefulness.

The American farmer has no interest in involving his fellow-men in ignorance, depravity or oppression ; nor in any way exciting, or indulging schemes of general calamity or distress, for he knows who, at last, has got to bear the chief public burdens and expenses. His permanent interests, active employments, temperate and prudent habits, engage the farmer's body and mind, and leaves him no loose inclinations for unlawful indulgences, or treacherous hankerings after *extra privileges*.

The property of the farmer is visible, and permanent ; and his pursuits are not likely to involve his neighbours or fellow-men, in blind hazards or ruinous speculations.

The good habits of our farmers, with their usual candour, and practical good sense, give them unequalled stability and worth of character ; and finally render them, truly, the chief supporters and defenders of this republic : and I will honor and reward the true character of the American farmer, to the last dash of my pen. They are truly the first lords of this country.

Next to the farmer, on the general scale of honour and public

worth, stand our MECHANICS and MANUFACTURERS. The business of their profession is the next most necessary and *useful*; and their habits of industry and prudence, are generally equal, and in some instances superior to those of the farmer.

The ingenuity and persevering industry of mechanics and manufacturers, furnish innumerable necessities, conveniences, and comforts of life. They devise and make the various tools and utensils with which the farmer subdues the forest and cultivates the soil to the greatest advantage, and conveys his produce home or to market. They build our houses, ships, and land carriages; furnish the main articles of our clothing, furniture, and the chief instruments for the acquisition and support of human rights—including the *press*, that mighty engine for the propagation of human knowledge. In fact, the benefits rendered to mankind by the contrivance and labour of mechanics and manufacturers, is beyond all human calculation. The ingenuity and industry of mechanics and manufacturers, has made England the richest, most powerful and enlightened nation in the world. What would she be without them!

The high intellectual and *practical* knowledge and attainments of our mechanics and manufacturers, already begins to be a source of considerable national wealth, independence and exaltation.

The justice, patriotism—devotion to the honour, independence, and prosperity of the nation, generally manifested by the American mechanics and manufacturers, are rarely ever, if any behind the farmers.

COMMERCE, is the *handmaid* of agriculture and manufactures, that passes from one to the other, their respective productions; and, in its proper place, it is useful and honourable. But commerce is surrounded by evil temptations, and degraded by habitual abuses. MERCHANTS and TRADERS, generally considered, are subject to the most evil temptations, and, with a few highly honourable exceptions, practice the most fraud and dishonourable schemes, of any other equally numerous profession of men in our country. Such, for instance, as adulterating groceries and other articles of trade; intentionally procuring and vending deceitful

made wares and articles of traffic ; using false and fraudulent weights and measures ; doing business and obtaining credit on false representations and appearances of property and responsibility—thereby throwing the actual risk on to others, without their knowledge or consent, and without any chance of a participation or share in the profits ; making sham auction and other sales, to decoy and take in others, and to disguise the true ownership of property ; affecting failures and making fraudulent concealment of property, to cheat honest creditors ; involving the business of commerce and trade in unnecessary perplexities and obscurity, in order to render a knowledge of the same, a deep and intricate *science*, known only to the craft or trade, to the exclusion of others ; defrauding the revenues of the country, by direct smuggling, and by false invoices, and bills of entry and clearance ; carrying on foreign trade under false papers, flags and other counterfeit pretensions ; trading with the enemy in time of war, and thereby affording them aid and comfort ; studiously embarrassing the revenue, credit and resources of the country, in times of war and general distress ; carrying on, or conniving at, piracy, and traffic in human beings ; aiding and conniving at the impressment, and other abuse of our seamen, in order to please the “ mistress of the ocean,” and ultimately favor their cupidity in foreign trade, or foreign politics ; sending seamen to encounter seizures, pestilences and other hazards, unknown to them, in prosecuting desperate commercial enterprises ; enticing seamen and others to commit criminal and other acts, in violation of revenue and other laws ; making efforts to encourage foreign trade and manufactures, to the manifest injury of our own country ; studiously employing deceitful artifices and representations to prejudice the public against domestic manufactures and other home concerns, to the embarrassment of our national wealth, resources and independence ; adopting and recommending to others, foreign fashions of dress, manners and customs, injurious to the best interests of our own country ; forming and conducting monopolizing and other extensive schemes of speculation, whereby thousands of worthy and unsuspecting persons are drawn into ruin, and others ultimately compelled to pay an exorbitant tax or contribution for their support and aggrandizement ;

carrying on corrupt intrigues with the officers and agents of government, to facilitate schemes of fraud, monopoly and other speculations, and to obtain *extra privileges*.

There is an abundance of evidence to show that the farmers are the most just and honourable profession of men in our country ; the mechanics and manufacturers the next ; and that, with a few honourable exceptions, merchants and traders stand the last or lowest on the general scale of honour and public usefulness, of the three general professions.

Were the farmers and mechanics as destitute of principle and fellow-feeling as *some other professions* are ; and should they unite for extra privileges and advantages over all others, what would their numbers and power enable them to accomplish ! But they are too just and honourable to attempt any undue advantages over their fellow men. They ask nothing but an *equality* of rights and privileges, and that they never refuse to others.

True Pride of Civilized Man.

THE true pride of civilized man, is the noblest impulse of the human senses. It is founded in justice and reason ; and is a proper sense of human virtue, worth and excellence, without vanity, haughtiness or deceit.

Vanity, haughtiness, impudence, and hypocrisy, are proper subjects of human disgrace, contempt, and scorn, or any thing, rather than what we ought to exult in.

A proper sense of human pride, keeps mankind above base or mean actions ; and excites us to the very summit of human excellence.

All true sources of human pride and exaltation, are unalloyed with future regrets or uneasiness. Like the life and character of a truly good and great man, they are subjects of pure joy, that grow brighter, more elevated and interesting, on reflection.

Haughtiness, is the fruit of ignorance, vanity and hypocrisy :

generally the result of bad education; an erroneous opinion of what human worth and excellence consists in.

True greatness, is self-possessed, calm, affable, dignified, and always *just and reasonable*.

Warning concerning three Professional Characters.

SAID Uncle Ned, (in his warning to his friends,) there are three professional characters, of whom I warn you to be cautious how you trust:—Namely, the *priest*, the *doctor*, and the *lawyer*. The priest requires the charge of your *soul*—the doctor, of your *body*, and the lawyer, of your *purse*. The priest triumphs in your *ignorance* and *superstition*—the doctor, in your *intemperance* and *ill health*, and the lawyer, in your *depravity* and *embarrassments*.

They are all in the habit of *disguising* their professional policy and conduct, in blind language, and by hypocritical pretensions. They have been permitted to be, chiefly *their own judges*. They may be good servants—but they are intolerable MASTERS.

Priests, and lawyers, when not strictly watched and guarded, in their professional policy and conduct, too often prove the very *spiders* and *canker worms* of truth, virtue, justice and human liberty; and doctors, when left to consult their own professional interests, frequently prove the *parents of debility*, and the *nurses of disease*.

It would therefore be important, and especially for the people of this republican community, if there was an able, independent and faithful REVIEW, published in every considerable state or district, criticising the general policy and conduct of the learned professions; and thereby keeping in check much of the favorite *craft*, they are inclined to indulge in, and especially when left to themselves without watching and FREQUENT PUBLIC INSPECTION.

The Light of Heaven no Mystery.

HEAVEN has rendered the way to human enjoyments, light, simple and easy—accessible to the simplest capacity. It is TRUTH—it shines always the same, and fairly admits of but one construction. But it seems not to have answered the purpose of priestcraft, kingcraft, and of *witchcraft*—it is too simple—every body can comprehend it : so they have conjured up, (as they would have us believe,) a *better* light—a *mysterious* light, a light that looks like *darkness*, and which, like the grocer's liquor, is the *better* for being adulterated !

Let any one attend to the guide which nature has furnished for our senses, and he can hardly mistake the way to true happiness. Every thing around us, seems naturally to proclaim, that TEMPERANCE is *health*, INDUSTRY is *wealth*, and HONESTY is *honour*. On the contrary, intemperance causes stupidity, disease and death ; indolence is the *mould* and *rust* of human talents, and *cancer* of virtue ; and dishonesty makes a man the most base and contemptible being on earth.

It is charging the CREATOR with a lack of justice and discernment, to suppose that HE had provided no asylum for oppressed humanity—designed no reward for virtue, but left them to chance, or the mere invention of man.

Morality is divine. Schemes of religion are the works of men : so far as any scheme or system of religion cultivates virtue and moral excellence in society, so far it is good—but no farther.

A system of religion that embraces any thing beyond what truth and reason can support, loses much of its force ; and every attempt to *compel* subjects into its belief, becomes suspicious, and frequently turns away honest minds with indignation.

You cannot compel the *mind*—the body may be enslaved.—Thoughts are involuntary. It is impossible to *force* any one to Heaven against their own will. Besides, a person of a corrupt and vicious mind, without a change of understanding and feelings, surrounded by all the felicities of Heaven, would be in torment.

Weak people may be *terrified* into a confession of that which they do not *comprehend* ; and the unprincipled may be *hired*, by the possession or prospect of some worldly gains or advantages, to *profess* what they *don't believe*.

The *holy inquisition*, sacrificed people, (by imprisonment, torture, death, and a confiscation of their property,) because they were too honest to take a *false oath*—to *swear* to that which *they did not believe*.

True Christianity, like republicanism, needs no other arms but the force of *truth* and *reason* to carry it into effect, and maintain its dominion over the human character. When any other means are resorted to, depend upon it, there is mischief.

There is a kind of *hot-bed* religion, which is produced by extraordinary excitement and nursing ; that may serve as a kind of *curiosity*, from its sudden growth, and rare appearance : but it seldom has much *substance*, and generally expires, or changes its complexion, as soon as exposed to the common atmosphere.

True religion, is sincere, and is founded in a just sense of virtue and wisdom. It is generally slow and steady of growth ; and is to be known by its *consistency* and good works. But false religion, is a cheat, founded in folly and wickedness—generally the artifice of base men, calculated to disguise fraudulent intentions, and to impose on the ignorant and credulous.

All hopes of future felicity, that are not founded in righteousness, are vain and impious.

Don't trust that teacher, who preaches up mysteries he cannot unravel or comprehend himself, lest, through ignorance or design, he lead you on to destruction.

Of what use is any system of religion, that does not promote virtue and human excellence ?

We are frequently cautioned against examining into the truth or soundness, of doctrines held out by divine teachers concerning the bible and a future state. This art, (for it must be confessed the business has been managed with a deal of art,) has caused more bloodshed and human misery, than perhaps all the avowed infidelity on earth. What ! will not the works of divinely inspired revelation, bear the test ? If the various things preached up

by divines, concerning the present and future happiness of mankind, are founded in truth or reason, they certainly can lose nothing by examination ; but if their schemes are conceived in error, or wickedness, they may be detected by inspection. *Popery*, the *holy inquisition*, and all their horrid consequences, grew out of this error or neglect of mankind ; and numerous other evils, equally abominable, have been practised or cloaked under pious pretensions.

It is the common art of villainy, to cloak evil designs, under good names, or fair professions.

It should be remembered, that the church of Rome, professedly deriving their authority from the Christian Scriptures, at one time, exercised such a horrid despotism over the fortunes, bodies and consciences of men, as to call forth the arduous supplications of true Christians, for the downfall of popery and superstition.

It may be well to explain, a little, in regard to the origin and progress of this evil.

After the leading knaves and tyrants of the ancient world, had rendered the greater part of mankind MISERABLE, by their frauds, oppressions and cruelties, they then pretended, that, those who served them faithfully, and scrupulously adhered to their rules and exactions, would be made happy in *another life*—in *a world to come* ; but that, those who transgressed their rules and authority, would be doomed to misery and destruction.

This is probably the foundation of ancient religious despotism : and from which the world experienced no substantial relief, until the introduction of CHRISTIANITY.

When the leaders of this ancient religious despotism, had spent their fury and chief force, against the mild, righteous and humane precepts and practices of Christianity, without being able to arrest its progress ; they then, hypocritically, professed to turn round and embrace its doctrines ; but managed their designs so, as finally to include and continue most of their idolatrous forms, and arbitrary practices, under the *name* of Christianity.

Thus *papistry* reared her awful dominion : wherein the pope, the head of the church, professed to hold the *keys* of HEAVEN and hell, and thereby to exercise a kind of *sovereignty* over the future

destinies of mankind ! and as an authority expressly derived from the Christian scriptures. But, lest the fallacy of these pretensions should be detected, the chief managers, absolutely *prohibited* the common use of the Bible ! Perhaps a greater cheat never was practised on the human race.

Under the expressed authority of the pope, the professed head of the Roman church, or papal sovereignty, multitudes carried on *a commerce in sin*, and actually sold licenses, (indulgences they call them,) to commit criminal and other offences, for a stipulated sum, for which they, the priests, absolved, or agreed to screen the purchaser from all future punishment or accountability, both earthly, and divine !

While truth was thus chained, and virtue and humanity lay weltering and wailing, under the bigotry and despotism of the Romish church, or papal authority, CALVIN, after LUTHER, commenced his aid in the general *reformation*.

In this undertaking, however, CALVIN, no doubt thought best to conform his creed, in a degree, to some of the leading notions and policy of *kingcraft*, in order to conciliate earthly sovereignty, and obtain the aid and approbation of the powers nigh him. This may be easily seen, in his ideas of *prelection*, and *sovereign grace*—that is, an appointment or determination, fixed by the lot of *birth*, without any regard to merit or previous actions—a place, pension, title or distinction, bestowed by *sovereign* authority, agreeable to the whim or pleasure of the monarch, and in contempt of merit, or the principles of justice.

Calvin's making his God the arbiter of an unjust, cruel and relentless policy, in imitation of earthly sovereigns, was no doubt highly flattering to their vanity and pretensions.

It may readily be perceived, however, that the MORAL SOCIETIES, established by Calvin, had a more important effect in improving the actual condition of society, than his religious creed.—Their good effects are strikingly visible to this day, in places where they were first established. Something like a regimen of diet and exercise, attending the prescription for using a certain compound of medicine—they are worth more than the medicine. So Calvin's moral societies are worth more than his religious creed.—

The first is founded in positive benefits, and the latter is chiefly imaginary.

The idea, held out by some, that one man can answer or atone for the sins of *another* person, in a moral or religious point of view, is perhaps the most absurd and slavish notion, that priestcraft ever invented.

A person's making confessions in *gross*, and without offering any amends to those whom they have injured, is encouraging to hypocrisy and villainy.

Some, who profess to have undergone a religious change, have exchanged a manly sense of honesty, for a sickly state of *insensibility*. They are no longer troubled with anxiety about discharging their *earthly* duties, or engagements to their fellow-men.—Their compunctions of conscience cease to upbraid them of faithless or dishonest actions—a state of stupidity and hypocrisy has taken their place. Indeed, many who have experienced sudden religious conversions, or undergone a nominal change in favour of some sectarian creed, policy, or mode of external worship—relying upon their assumed piety to screen them from suspicion and punishment, often presume to do with impunity, that which, before they put on their outside sanctity, they would not have dared to attempt.

The advocates of mischief, address themselves to our faith in imaginary things, and prove their works by deception.

Can any system, that is founded in error, and supported by deception, be good? "Yes," say the slaves of *satan*, "such are the means by which we serve our master, and set mankind *at variance with themselves*—by enslaving, tormenting and butchering one another; and frequently in a cause wherein ninety and nine-hundredths of them have the same general object in view, only—**THEY ARE DECEIVED.**"

Mankind are not the happier for what they *have* enjoyed; but we rather pass from pleasure with regret, and feel our happiness augmented by what we hopefully *expect to enjoy*. Hence a hope of future felicity, founded in a just and well grounded prospect, is the sweet anchor of the soul.

The idea of an immortal soul, and of a state of rewards and

punishments *according to our understandings and voluntary transactions*, is certainly the most just and sublime conception that ever entered the mind of man ; and when it is pursued by just and rational precepts and examples, it is most eminently calculated to exalt the human character, and to promote the general peace, prosperity and happiness of the whole human family.

The christian system, in its true and rational character, is the very palladium of our religious and political liberties. It has done more perhaps to *civilize* mankind—to allay and restrain the ferocity and despotism of the human character—to excite and cultivate a proper sense of returning justice and fellow feeling among the human family, than any thing else that has ever been known.

Our divine Saviour, in teaching *the ways of God to man*, developed more true goodness and greatness of the human character, than the world had ever before seen.—He shows mankind, that true greatness, does not consist in the imposition, or exercise of, a haughty sovereignty, or despotism over our fellow beings, or in any way manifesting a contempt for their wrongs and sufferings : But in enlightening the ignorant ; detecting and reproofing the faulty ; relieving and comforting the oppressed, and those who are unrighteously and sorely afflicted ; and in finally promoting the general peace, security, prosperity and happiness of the whole human family, by a mutual exchange of good services—*by doing unto others as we would have mankind do unto us*. (How much is this *unlike*, most of the *heads* of our church establishments, at the present day !)

Real *christians* don't persecute, nor oppress their fellow men.

Ingratitude, and *revenge*, are the fruits of ignorance and corruption.

The spirit of true christianity, breathes nothing but peace, righteousness, benevolence and good will towards mankind.

The real christian in mind, rejoices in the happiness of his fellow beings ; but the *snake* tempered hypocrite and despoiler, squirm and hiss at the peace and prosperity of their very neighbours. Miserable and discontented in mind, themselves, they wish the world so, too.

Practical christianity, teaches us cheerfulness and affability in our temper, and dispositions ; justice, benevolence and humanity,

in our dealings, and general conduct towards our neighbours and fellow men.

The true christian's mind, moves with *gratitude* and satisfaction, towards private and public *benefactors*.

And when the christian's life is run, he sinks into a hopeful eternity, in peace with himself and the world of mankind.

Here, then, is an *immediate*, and *positive* benefit, with an *eternity of bliss in prospect*, resulting from the faith and practice of true christianity.

Oratory.

TRUE ORATORY, is the natural and unaffected *speaking of the mind*—the *pouring out of the soul*, through the medium of the human senses; and is generally manifested by the *tone* of voice, looks, actions and other expressions of *feeling*. *Tears* some times express the language of the soul, most *eloquently*.

There is an acquired ART of speaking, IMITATING genuine oratory—*affecting* the true sensibility and language of the soul. This art, chiefly consists in modulating and managing the voice, gestures, and *manner* of speaking, to charm or captivate the human senses, by the *music* of the voice, and pleasing *manners* of a speaker—to gain a particular cause, point or purpose, by the *sound* and *manner*, rather than by the substance of argument, and finally to triumph over human justice and reason, by a hypocritical appeal to *passions*.

This *art* of public speaking, may, possibly, be applied to good purposes, in certain instances; but it is an unnecessary, and very dangerous art, and far more evil than good is to be apprehended from its indulgence.

Truth, soberly and fairly expressed to our understanding, is an address to *reason*—instead of passion; and is the great agent and promoter of justice, virtue and human excellence. But an *affected* tone of voice, feeling and manner of speaking, studiously calculated and managed to operate upon the human *passions*, instead of reason, is an art of *satan*.

There seems to be a great deal of study and effort, to acquire this hypocritical *art* of speaking, and chiefly by those who are thoughtless, or ignorant of its true character and consequences ; but every virtuous and enlightened member of society, should avoid and detest all art and affectation in speaking, as the *music* and *charms* of satan.

It is this *art* of speaking, by which unprincipled and designing lawyers often endeavour to lull justice to sleep, while they plunder and distress their intended victims, or effect the escape of their guilty clients.

The very same art that unprincipled and designing priests often hypocritically employ, to delude and oppress their unhappy subjects.

It is the "*syren song*" intended to hush the watchmen of liberty, while the enemy possess themselves of the strong holds of public safety.

The speeches and writings of Wm. Penn, Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and many others, the best friends and benefactors of mankind, are plain, unaffected, and direct communications to the human reason and understanding ; and serve as an example for present and future generations.

After a people have been accustomed to be led by the *sound* instead of the *substance* of words or arguments—suffer themselves to follow an artful and affected address to their *passions*, rather than a sober and candid appeal to their *reason*, they may be readily subjected to their own degradation and ruin.

This unnatural, inhuman and affected *art* of speaking, makes *game* of fellow beings, and is calculated to play the very *devil* with the human understanding and character.

Lawyers.

THERE is perhaps no profession, whereby a man might render more important services to society, than in that of the law, provided those who practice law would exert their skill and talents to promote *justice* ; and I am happy to perceive there are some of

the profession, of that character. Unfortunately for society, however, it must be confessed, that the number of such lawyers is small, and that those who compose it, are truly *above* the general influence and example of their profession.

The principal gains of lawyers, proceed from the *ignorance*, *wounds* and *depravity* of society.

Could there be a mode devised whereby lawyers should be paid or compensated, in proportion as they should promote *justice*—render its access *more sure*, *expeditious*, and *economical*, it would be highly important for mankind. At present, however, *highly* the reverse is the case; and lawyers study to promote *their* interests, by unnecessary perplexities and delays of justice.—We should certainly think it a queer way to *improve* roads or navigable waters, by rendering their passage *more* lengthy, intricate, hazardous and expensive, and yet these seem to be essentially such alterations as lawyers generally choose to make in the course of *professed* justice.

It is perfectly natural for every one to desire an increase of the profits and sources of their own calling or professional business. Therefore it is not extraordinary that lawyers should study to foster, and increase the natural sources and advantages of their professional business; that they should study to catch every human difference, evil passion, or *spark* of litigation, and blow it up, and endeavour to multiply, extend and prolong the same; and finally to manage every controversy or *job of law*, for their own benefit.* It is also reasonable to conclude, that they would strive to get and retain all the *offices* of any considerable trust or profit, to themselves, families, friends and connexions, or to those *under their influence and control*; that they would try to legislate and *make* the laws, and then *plead*, and *judge*, to suit themselves; that they should even labor to render mankind so dependent upon their pro-

* Like an unprincipled doctor, who, for the purpose of making or enlarging a job for himself, aggravates and converts a wart or pimple into a *cancer*; or who, perhaps otherways exaggerates a malady, or *nurses* and prolongs your infirmity, or disease, to lengthen out his visits and increase his charges; or purposely injures your constitution, so as to make you dependant on his assistance during life.

fession, as hardly to be able to transact the most trifling business without their aid or advice. Besides, it is quite probable their professional views would lead them to endeavor to control, directly or indirectly, most of the *newspapers* and other sources of public intelligence, in order to *prevent criticisms on their policy and conduct*, and to *advocate and promote their own policy, interest and designs*.

Having the chief control of the legislative, judicial, and executive authorities of a state or nation ; it would be very convenient for the craft, in order to recruit the sources of their professional interests, to HOIST THE FLOOD GATES OF VICE, for a season, under some special garb or pretext of *necessity, mercy, liberality, expediency, or good policy*—to *sow* vice or evil temptations, and then *harvest* the sins of the people !

It is really wonderful, however, that lawyers should have been so far indulged, as they have been, in this enlightened age, and country. How unfortunate it is for society, that there should be a profession of men, so tolerated or indulged, who are *interested* in catching every man in a passion, or evil moment, and binding of him in a litigious controversy, to the final injury of himself, and friends—in *exciting, augmenting, and prolonging*, those petty broils and misunderstandings which mankind are perpetually liable to ; and which, if judiciously attended to in season, are generally settled to the satisfaction of all concerned ; but if entrusted to the management of lawyers, too often terminate to the disadvantage of *both* parties.

But what necessity is there for lawyers ? JUSTICE chiefly depends on the *facts* (not pleadings,) produced in evidence to the court ; and the judges know, or ought to know, *the law*—as well as to be capable of *reasoning*.

Can a lawyer make what has been, *not to have been*, or what has not been, *to have been*. What is the odds—whether a man takes my purse behind my back, and passes it *cunningly* under his leg, from his right hand to his left, through a button hole, says over "*hocus pocus*," and puts it into his pocket, or whether he takes it before my face and bears it straight off *without any ceremony* ? I know, that, sticklers for *law* and *policy*, will make a deal of

odds: but I can see no essential difference, only that the former evinces the most *premeditated and determined villainy*.

It would generally be much easier to make a just and correct decision of a case, from a judicious summary of the law, and the principal facts in evidence, than after hearing all the sophistry, *squirming, twisting and juggling* of the lawyers.*

WILLIAM PENN, WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN, SAMUEL ADAMS, HANCOCK, Generals WARREN, GREENE, PUTNAM, LA FAYETTE, and a host of the political fathers and benefactors of this republic, were not lawyers.† WASHINGTON, has indeed left us a warning and example to shun lawyers and the *snares* of litigation, in the provisions for settling his estate, "*got volumes of meaning in it.*"

The study and practice of law, generally cultivates a quibbling, contracted and base policy. A knowledge of history and general science, gives men much more correct, extensive and liberal views of society.

Knowledge debases no man ; but the ordinary *practice* of law, too often renders men practical villains. Accustomed to oppose truth and justice, lawyers frequently lose, even their *natural* sense of right and wrong. Tutored in the great school of deception, a lawyer becomes a *hypocrite by profession*—a kind of *two sided* craft—any body's friends for money! Of course, a lawyer is a kind of privileged tool, in the hands of vicious, or wealthy men—sometimes hired to *keep justice off*, at others employed to enforce a fraudulent or unjust demand, just as suits their client's purposes.

We are apt to form a most detestable opinion of those, who can be hired to fight *against* the cause of justice and humanity. It is indeed often necessary and proper, that criminal and other offenders, should have advice and assistance, to prevent them from be-

*The Supreme Court of the State of New York, it is said, with the chief justice presiding, went through one of their county sessions, *without any pleadings*, and the result was highly pleasing—to all but *lawyers*. This course was adopted, in consequence of some *airs* the lawyers or *bar* had taken upon themselves, which the judge would not submit to.

† JEFFERSON soon entered into public life, so that he had no time to become corrupted by the contaminating influence and practice of the law. And even JOHN ADAMS, did not remain many years in their reach.

ing convicted of *more* than they were guilty, or from being any way wronged or unjustly treated. But when lawyers exert themselves beyond that—to prevent the truth from coming to light, or justice from taking place, by studying to garnish over or conceal the crimes or offences of their clients ; when they strive to wring and twist a known or confirmed villain or offender out of the hands of justice, and let him loose upon society again ; by so doing, they obviously participate in their client's offence, and too often partake bountifully of their plunder or ill-gotten wealth.

Some lawyers attempt to excuse themselves for assisting rogues to evade justice, by saying that their *oaths* oblige them to be faithful to their employers—(plaguey *oath* !) but why take such an oath, if it requires them to become *accomplices* with every villain who may see fit to employ them to facilitate an evasion of justice ?

If a man *understandingly* makes implements, or renders other essential aid or assistance to effect the commission of a fraudulent or criminal act ; or to facilitate the escape of rogues ; or if he *knowingly* conceals a criminal offender ; or disguises or secretes stolen property, or partakes of the same, he participates in the offence—unless, indeed, he has been indulged with a lawyer's *oath*, and then he just receives his reward, or part of the plundered, as a FEE.—What a privilege !

Their clients deceive them, too—(naughty *clients* !) But does not every lawyer know, that men are generally in a *passion* when they go to law, and that every man is inclined to be more or less partial to his own side of the case ?

Lawyers not only get larger fees, for advocating injustice, but consider it a greater evidence of their professional abilities, when they succeed, than they do for managing on the side of justice.

Those who prosecute under just claims, or attempt to resist palpable injustice, generally conceive they have very little need for the services of lawyers.

Lawyers *knowingly* encourage opposition to justice, that would not otherways be made. They cultivate an equivocating and trifling disposition in society, by endeavouring to render litigation *honourable*. Indeed, they would endeavour to persuade us that theirs was “ *the most honourable profession.*”

The more trifling the cause of action, the greater the offence ; and attack a man, let his conduct and position be ever so correct, and you will generally compel him to take extreme grounds, for resistance. Hence it is the policy of lawyers, to encourage the institution of suits for doubtful, exaggerated or petty offences, and to excite false ideas of honour, or prospects of success, to induce their clients to persist to the *extremity of the law*—well knowing that one law suit, unjustly instituted, or unreasonably prolonged, like a war, generally provokes another.

The laws were professedly designed as our guide and protection ; but how could it be reasonably expected that men of common abilities should understand the laws, and be able to use them, when they are the subject of perpetual doubts, and often of *the very men who made the laws* ?

If those who went to law, generally, expected *justice* would take place, there would be quite a difference in the parties ; and many matters that are now violently contested, would be amicably settled, and without the aid or advice of a lawyer.

The advocate of injustice, says, “ I am not confined to certain unalterable *facts*—but make just such statements as are best calculated to answer my purpose ; and if I succeed, I get something for my pains ; but if my opponent gets his case, he recovers no more than was justly his own, and that often at an expense that far exceeds its value.”

The laws should be so made and administered, that *justice* might be accessible to people of common abilities. In many instances, however, the laws seem to be made, or *administered*, so as to increase the powers of those, whose learning, property, and *personal influence*, (the *bane* of justice and civil liberty,) naturally gives them too much the advantage.

Bad laws are generally worse than none. They cost more than they fetch. *Justice* is out of the question.

It is the natural policy of lawyers, to throw the rights of men into doubtful contest, and then *shuffle law for the issue*—to render truth and error equally doubtful, and then let the partiality of the judges go the way they are generally inclined.

Lawyers no doubt would be highly gratified, if they could ren-

der the rights of men so *doubtful*, as to be frequently contested in law.

If the laws were rendered plain and explicit, so as to be easily understood, and readily administered, there would be but few law-suits, or attempts to resist justice—unless those entrusted with the administration of the laws should violate the proper duties of their station; for mankind are not such fools, generally, as to attempt to resist a plain, regular course of justice, without some undue excitement, aid, or encouragement.

The talents which generally enable men to acquire wealth and power, by the practice of law, are not rated among the most esteemed of human faculties. Some lawyers have gained their fees by extreme *insolence*, *browbeating*, or BULLYING—such as would often give the purest innocence a purple tinge, or frighten the most amiable modesty into confusion; while others have triumphed over their opponents, by superior *strength of lungs*, employed in loud, or long speaking; and all owe more or less of their success to *intrigue* and *deception*.*

Tribunals of JUSTICE, bring the reasoning faculties of men into cool and deliberate action; but courts of law, like war, too often give scope to the vilest passions of the human character. In fact, suits at law are often conducted more like a *siege at war*, than like tribunals of civil justice—in collecting and drilling witnesses; changing the modes or points of attack, or defence; corrupting or swerving witnesses, lawyers and judges, and causing unnecessary perplexities, delays and expenses.

It is a great object with the profession, to render the laws intricate, complicated and difficult to administer; and also to have it

* What a sense must it create, in a virtuous, intelligent and reflecting mind, to behold an old grey headed man, (as the case sometimes is,) one who had been honoured with a seat in the councils of his nation, employing sophistries and other arts of *deception*, before a public assembly, dignified with the name of a tribunal of JUSTICE—perhaps to rob, persecute or oppress, some good person—possibly a public benefactor, to favour or indulge some treacherous, malignant, envious or oppressive client—and all, too, for the paltry consideration of a *fee*! What, indeed, must be the opinion entertained of such a man, and of a profession that would tolerate such a general course of conduct?

customary to make fine long *speeches* on frequent occasions ;* so as to exclude all but “ *the most honourable profession*,” from offices of any considerable trust or profit. Then, instead of choosing public officers from among *the people*, they would have to be chosen of the *lawyers* !

Lawyers already consider a knowledge of law so *intricate*, as to exclude all but those of their own profession, from knowing any more about “ *legal affairs*,” than they generally do about the mechanic arts. Indeed, some of the *quirks* and *quibbles* of law, are as mysterious and perplexing, as the art of juggling or slight of hand—and quite as useless and mischievous in society. But every man of good common sense, generally knows the principles of equity—of common *right* and *wrong*, and which are the essentials of all just and good laws.

Most of those who practice law, have signalized their lives, especially their youths, by their hatred of industry, and their contempt for those who earn their living by honest labour ; as well as manifested a disregard for most of the good and wholesome laws and customs of society. A pretty set of men, to be sure, to *select* to make and administer laws, for the purpose of guarding the rights of honest industry—encouraging honesty and fair dealing among men ; promoting temperance and sobriety, and protecting virtue and innocence in society.

Almost as soon as a person commences the *study* of law, in some places, he is dub'd *Esqr.* and viewed with a kind of *terror*, by the common people, as having power to do them *harm*.

In short, lawyers, in their zeal to render the progress of law *expensive*, and its issue *uncertain*, have nighly overreached themselves, in as much as they have rendered the progress *so tedious* and *expensive*, and its issue *so uncertain*, that many people had rather suffer injustice in the first instance, than contend in *law* for their rights. Nor has the zeal of this privileged and highly in-

* How silly it often appears, for an old, and otherwise dignified character, such as the chief magistrate of the nation, a state, or the like officer, to have to learn the matter of their communications *by heart*, like a school boy, so as to deliver them off—make a *speech*, instead of giving the same in a written *message*.

dulged profession ended here ; for they have not only trampled on the laws of the states, in some instances, by their "*bar rules*," to obtain illegal and exorbitant fees ; but have they not actually set the constitution of the nation at defiance, by obstructing the general freedom of exercising our professional talents, in certain instances, unless we have studied, or resided, a given time, within a certain district or *local bound* ?

Instances of lawyers being governed by principle—advising clients for their actual and best good, contrary to the general dictates of their professional policy, are indeed so rare, that they are noticed as extraordinary occurrences. For example : when the late judge WYTHE, (of Virginia,) during his practice of law, once returned a client his fee, with advice to settle the matter in the best manner he could, without going to law—the transaction was considered as an extraordinary instance of honesty in a lawyer. And when Mr. B—— of Vermont—a young lawyer of considerable talents, but no fortune, not only refused to advocate the cause of a rogue, (who had stolen a cow from a poor widow,) but actually volunteered on the other side—and got the case—the transaction was noticed, and highly applauded by *the people*, as an instance of honourable conduct in a lawyer.

Some lawyers seem to think they must necessarily be a kind of devils or political jugglers, but, surely, dishonesty is as inconsistent with the proper duties of their profession, as that of any other.*

Finally, lawyers are among the best or worst members of society, just as they vary in their natural inclinations, and in the pos-

*As an apology for adopting the general policy of the profession, against the best dictates of the human senses, some have said, that, were they to have done otherways, the whole *bar*, and even *bench*, in most instances, would not only be at war with them in their practice, but most probably they would *prevent* them from being admitted to practice before the different courts! To understand this, the reader must recollect, what he probably well knows, that lawyers are in the habit of forming themselves into a *club* called the "*BAR*;" who, in conjunction with the judges,—(who are generally of the same profession,) examine and admit, or *permit* to practice the profession of law, whomsoever they please!

This I presume is an *assumed* restriction, for I have no recollection of any legislative act to that purpose.

session and final exercise of their talents and professional skill.— When they stand forth the bold and faithful advocates of truth, justice, virtue, liberty, and human excellence—the defenders of individual rights and personal security—the sincere and judicious opposers of fraud, persecution, oppression and cruelty—the consistent friends and promoters of human improvement, and of national independence and prosperity: Then lawyers become the real friends and benefactors of mankind, and deserve to be esteemed and rewarded accordingly. But when lawyers are the willing instruments of fraud, persecution, oppression and cruelty—when they study to excite, aid and prolong unnecessary difficulties and contentions in society, that they may be benefitted by the result—when they designedly facilitate the escape of rogues or confirmed villains, to the injury of the better part of community—when they labor to excite and harden the worst passions of human nature, at the expense and ruin of the best—study to nurse and indulge vice and indolence, at the expense and destruction of virtue and industry—and finally to build up depravity and despotism, upon the downfall and ruins of virtue and human liberty: Then I say lawyers deserve the execrations of mankind, as the leading *wolves* and *vultures* of society—the actual prompters and defenders of villainy.

What an opportunity there is now offered to the better class of lawyers to immortalize themselves, by reducing all the vague, complex and absurd systems of law, into one simple and definite code, suited to the general wants and capacities of the people, and to assist in carrying the same into general effect! It is believed that this is already the design of many, and that the object will be accomplished, by the general interest it has in view.

Remarks on Government, No. 1.

A WELL regulated community, is a compact between individuals, entered into for mutual accommodation and advantage, whereby

each individual member is justly bound to perform a part, corresponding to his advantages and abilities.

I should therefore be inclined to doubt the honesty of any man, who studies to enjoy the protection and advantages of government, without contributing his part.

Those who will not support government by their military services, rendered personally or otherwise, when properly required of them, should not be permitted to exercise the responsible and manly privileges of FREEMEN—to vote, and *direct* government. Some would go farther, and say they ought to be compelled to wear *petticoats*, and let public spirited and resolute *women* take the breeches !

There is something so unjust and absurd, in the idea that one man is better than another—entitled to more peivileges, merely from the circumstances of his *birth, fortune, creed, or profession*, that I can hardly persuade myself any rational being would, voluntarily and understandingly, be subject to its exactions.

We certainly profess to allow of no *privileged* orders or distinctions in this country ; but do we not practice in direct contradiction, when we exempt from military duty, the whole number of a sect, merely because they dress, and profess to think, different from other people, in a few particulars ?

However the language and dress of mankind may vary, we all possess essentially the same passions and inclinations : and, because some do not give scope to their feelings in open warfare, is no evidence they do not indulge them at all.

For my part, I dread a secret and sly enemy, the worst of all.

It is easy to put on a plain tongue, and garment ; and by experience, one may acquire

“skill to grace,

A devil's purpose, with an angel's face.”

The sect commonly called quakers, have certainly some habits and customs, highly commendable, and deservedly entitled to general encouragement and adoption. But are they to be exempt from a common duty, on account thereof ? or cannot they practice

their good habits, without refusing to bear arms in *defence* of life, liberty, and property ?

It would appear equally absurd, in my estimation, to refuse a support of the civil, as the military authority of the country, under "conscientious scruples" of aiding the shedding of blood, for the military is the actual support of the civil authority, without which it could not be maintained, and blood is frequently shed in carrying the laws into effect.

Justice is appropriately represented with a balance in one hand and a *sword* in the other.

The spirit of resistance to impending injuries, is the immutable law of God, implanted in the human frame for *self preservation*; and justly considered, it authorizes nothing that is inconsistent with the character of a christian, or good citizen.

There is something extremely absurd, in refusing, under pretended scruples of conscience, to perform common military training, or to pay the fines required for a delinquency thereof—which have, in fact, a direct tendency to *prevent* war-like aggressions; while the same people, pay other imposts and taxes, comprehending those commonly called *war duties*, and *war taxes*, levied by the states and general government, for the express purpose of providing munitions of war, and to pay people for fighting.—There is scarcely an imported article used, on which there is not something taxed for the general support of the civil and military expenses and operations of government.

Mr. Cummings, an Englishman, of the sect called quakers, "*plotted and headed a military expedition* against a French settlement in Africa. This conduct he justified, as perfectly consistent with his religious principles;" because he presumed, and it so happened, that it was a "bloodless victory."

Numerous conquests, both by sea and land, have been made under military expeditions, without the mere shedding of blood; and it may always be presumed to be the case, whenever it suits our convenience. Warlike sieges, however, often produce consequences far more horrible to society, than the mere shedding of blood. Such, for example, as corrupting, and enslaving mankind; the painful and protracted anxieties of the besieged, during their per-

ilious condition : famine, pestilence, and the like, resulting from a confined and restricted situation.

These remarks finally lead to the conclusion, that there is something more like bigotry, cowardice, and avarice, in these scruples of conscience, than of virtuous and enlightened religion.

If all the people in the United States were *quakerized*—that is, should they all be disarmed and refuse to bear arms in *defence* of life, liberty and property, as the quakers do, what in all probability would ultimately be our fate ?

May not the haughty and corrupt foes of our national liberty and independence, say, in truth, that “ Every quaker made in the United States, not only *disarms* a foe, but two to one produces a friend to monarchy.”

Passive obedience and non-resistance, is all that the most despotic governments generally require of their subjects.

I most sincerely wish the whole world of mankind were *Friends*, or Quakers ; in which case there would not be any need of bearing arms against our fellow men. But, until mankind are completely *civilized*, or become the subjects of *truth*, *justice* and *reason*, the *wolves* and *vultures* of society, must be kept off, entrapped, hunted down and checked or destroyed, by force of arms.

Remarks on Government, No. 2.

ENERGY, without reason, is *tyranny* ; but just and necessary laws and regulations, executed with promptness and fidelity, are the sacred guardians of individual and public safety, happiness and prosperity.

Partiality is the very *bane* of human confidence. Every service rendered the public, should be paid or compensated, as nigh as possible in proportion to their actual *merits* :—

If more is given than merited, it induces unwarrantable exertions to obtain public office or employ ; and if less is allowed than strict justice demands, it produces neglect of duty, and renders an excuse for mischievous perquisites.

Jurors should be paid as amply, in proportion to what they merit, as judges of a higher grade ; *soldiers* as well as officers, and so on, *every service rendered the public*.

JUSTICE SATISFIES EVERY REASONABLE EXPECTATION, AND STRIKES A TERROR ON FRAUD.

I hardly know which is most to be dreaded, in those invested with the government of a country, too much *severity*, or too much *lenity* ; for the former restricts and punishes without justice or reason, and the latter indulges injustice and transgression, and excites evil passions, by not laying them under proper restraint.

An extreme arbitrary or despotic government, or exercise of power, *stifles* or *deforms* the noblest impulse of human genius and acquirements ; and an extreme imbecile or profligate government, or exercise of public authority, leaves virtue and merit *unguarded*, by neglecting to punish and restrain the evil minded and worst part of community.

There is very little difference, between the effects of despotism and anarchy. In one case, the professed *rulers* are the aggressors on human rights, and in the other, the *unruly* become the pests of society.

An extreme weak or profligate government, may sometimes be truly said to grant a *bounty* for indolence and treachery, and to *tax* virtue and industry to pay the bounty. They seem ultimately to say,

“ *Free pardon and favor* for ROGUES—*restrictions and taxes* for HONEST MEN—Honest men we can *drive*, but rogues we must *buy*, or some how make them *partners* of our power and privileges.”

Remarks on Government, No. 3.

It matters little, indeed, with the good and faithful citizen, whether his person is assaulted and his earnings wrested from him without justice or remedy, by a vicious and unrestrained populace, or individuals calling themselves republicans, or by a haughty and overgrown despot. His wounds in each case are

painful, his losses afflicting, and his case without remedy. There is this difference, however :—in case of a deficiency of legal or popular restraint, the remedy is with *the people* ; but in case of abuses from arbitrary power, the cause of the good citizen is hopeless. Truth and reason dare not hold up their heads. Remonstrance is unknown.

Legislators, chosen from among the common people, in convenient districts, and frequently changed, have many and important advantages :—they would have *similar interests* with their constituents—as well as know their minds and situations, truly and *feelingly* ; and being but a short time in office, they would hardly have time, or a disposition, to plot and effect *unequal measures*.

In order to have a people *truly* represented, the number of representatives should be apportioned among the different interests throughout a state or district, so as to have every considerable trade, profession or branch of business, duly represented by those who *know* and *feel* their concerns, truly.

It would be difficult to persuade me, that any man was fit to manage the public concerns, who had not *proved* his patriotism, and abilities, by the able and judicious practice or management of some useful profession or calling in society.

Were we to respect men, merely because they possess *talents*, without any regard to their application, even the devil might be honoured.

To entrust the chief officers of a state or nation with money for *secret* and indefinite purposes, is eventually licensing their use of *poison*, for the assassination of whom they please.

Is it not a little remarkable, that governments are inclined to grow worse—become more unequal, arbitrary and unjust, while all other sciences are generally improved for the better, with the progress of time ? Is it not because mankind generally put *too much confidence* in the mere *professions* of their fellow-men—permit the biggest *hypocrites* and *knaves* to watch over their concerns—trust the *wolves* to guard the sheep ?

Virtuous and enlightened minds, are attached and held together, by mutual esteem, and a sense of equity, and public usefulness ; and vicious ones, by fear and policy. The latter often *dare* not

quarrel or separate, for fear of having *their own* transactions or characters exposed or brought to light.

Hence a league of unprincipled men—more especially if *in power*, are perhaps the strongest, and certainly the most to be dreaded by the friends of justice and humanity, of any association of human beings.

We sometimes see public agents amass fortunes, by violating the duties of their stations, and yet avoid punishment. This certainly never should be the case ; for if the whole united public cannot bring an individual offender to justice, what could an individual do in defence of his rights ? But when the public agents are generally inclined to be treacherous, they can assist and favour each other, by connivance, and playing into each other's hands, alternately, and avoid punishment—if *the people will wink at such conduct, and neglect to employ the best means in their power to punish offenders, and to prevent like occurrences in future.*

“ Ah ! ” said a league of gamblers, “ if *we* had the making and administration of the laws, *gambling* should be THE MOST HONOURABLE PROFESSION.”

Judiciary Censor, No. 1.

THERE is nothing, perhaps, which attaches the hearts of *good* men, more strongly to the interest of a state or country, than the security of personal rights, and the easy and certain access to JUSTICE ; which are the result of good and sufficient laws, faithfully and judiciously administered.

But, as individuals who suffer injustice, generally consider it too great a task for *them* to remove the cause, the evil progresses, and its authors thrive, until the calamity becomes general.

This evil, I think, might be prevented, in a great measure, by appointing a suitable number of *fit* persons, in every state or district, to act as CENSORS of the laws and constitutions, both of the states and general government. It should be the duty of the censors, to notice every error or deficiency of the laws, and constitu-

tions, and particularly *unsuccessful attempts to obtain justice* in courts of law, and, if possible, find out the cause and report a remedy.

KEEP THE FOUNTAINS OF JUSTICE PURE AND EFFICIENT.

What is the price of *justice*—may it be had on demand—without respect to persons or property? are the questions, that would naturally arise in the mind of a sensible and good man, in pursuit of a country to live in; for that excellent production of human virtue and wisdom, (JUSTICE,) is seldom to be found under an excessive climate, or in a barren or unhealthy country.

Weak or insufficient laws, or laws *unfaithfully administered*, are often worse than none. They only restrain the weakest and most harmless capacities in society; while they seem to offer a bounty, or free pardon, to those who have the ability to commit injustice in such a *manner* as to evade the final penalty of the law.

The laws are generally much less in fault, than those who have the chief power and influence in *administering* them. It is *they* who study to favour those of their own craft and condition in society. Here is the place to apply the principal remedies.

It must indeed be confessed, that so far as the professed guardians of justice and human liberty, bind up the innocent and faulty in one common bond, and extort their sacrifices and prolong their miseries together, so far, at least, they act a very unbecoming part.

The CENSORS should be chosen of those, who, from habit and situation, participate in the common interests and welfare of society.

I very much doubt the propriety of trusting any man, or set of men, to make and administer laws, who thrive on public calamity, or who are interested in unnecessary perplexities and delays of justice.

Judiciary Censor, No. 2.

EVERY thing that has a tendency to interrupt the necessary and peaceable pursuits of mankind, or to embarrass the progress of justice, should be regarded as an evil of serious *national* tendency and concern.

JUSTICE, is the professed end and object of all law ; and whenever that is not attained by the ordinary proceedings or final decisions of courts of law, there should be an efficient remedy provided and applied ; for why should individuals be wronged, or suffer injustice without remedy, because it has been effected *under color of law*, any more than if it had been done without that ceremony.

Every *unnecessary* trouble, and expense, occasioned by law proceedings, is worse than a total sacrifice, as it regards society generally ; for the time, trouble and expense, are not only so much loss to the parties concerned, in the first place, but the amount so expended generally goes to strengthen and encourage the *wolves* and *vultures* of society—a *craft* that is preying upon the very best interests of this community.

Unjust decisions of courts, have a most powerful tendency to weaken the cause of justice and humanity :—The person who is wronged thereby, not only loses his confidence in the protection and security of the laws ; but is often induced, thereby, to become the aggressor—from desperate motives of retaliation, or from a conviction that dishonesty has become the best policy ; and the person who is favored by the unjust decision, will very naturally feel an exultation and encouragement, in his unrighteous course.

The example of the evasions of justice, on those who are not immediately concerned, must obviously be very pernicious to society.

Courts are in fact too often attended by a set of idle speculators, or villains, who are studying out the crooks and quibbles of law proceedings, to take the advantage of them.

Peaceable, honest and industrious men, frequently hate the very sight of a court of law—as the good man's worst foe—places of intrigue, deception, robbery, persecution and oppression.

The corrupt influence and effect of *court policy*, has always been considered as most fatally hostile to the general cause of truth, justice, virtue and human liberty. And yet, it seems quite a matter of calculation, already, with many in this country, to carry on some secret, or outdoor intrigue or management, in order to *prejudice or influence the court in their favor*.

The progress of law has been rendered so *tedious, expensive, vexatious and uncertain*, as to disgust and fairly sicken the better part of community.

There is scarcely a virtuous and enlightened, or well informed member of society, who is not interested in the abuses referred to, that does not dread the corrupt and unrestrained power and influence of lawyers, and tremble for the consequences. The only question is, *how shall they be properly restrained and corrected?* I answer, by appointing and putting over them JUDICIARY CENSORS, as is herein provided. Then, *lawyers* violating the proper duties of their profession, would be brought to justice and corrected, like other men. They, too, would then be *subjects* of law—but now they are mainly *masters* of law.

If men of other professions violate their duties and engagements, to your injury, the laws afford some remedy; but if a lawyer violates his duty or engagement to the injury, or even ruin of his client, the latter has no adequate and practicable remedy.

An able and independent REVIEW of our judiciary proceedings, bestowing applause, or censure, wherever they were merited, would do more to promote final justice, and the general good of mankind, than all the *hinting* and *squinting* at the subject, that ever appeared in our half enslaved public prints.

The censors should review the conduct of the *lawyers*, as well as judges—notice the suits they institute, and resist—their management of cases—their conduct and decorum in the examination of witnesses, pleadings, &c. This would *prune* the bar, of much of the filth and excrescences that are now permitted to flourish there—do away that *bullying, blackguarding, and quibbling*, as well as the *sophistry, intrigue, and juggling*, that too generally disgraces our judicial proceedings; and ultimately bring up a truly honorable and useful set of men.

In the present case, we commit our lives, liberties, reputations and fortunes, to the chief management and control of *lawyers*, who are lawless in their demands, and under no practicable restraint or accountability for their conduct or management of our concerns.—Not even common censure, for who dare say a word openly against these knights of *craft* and *terror*—who hold the laws as a rod in their own hands, to rule and ruin, whom they please.

Judiciary Censor, No. 3.

THERE should be one CENSOR for every county or judicial district in a state, to attend courts of record within the same ; who should be chosen annually by the freemen or electors thereof.

The censors should be men of good general information—determined republicans in principle, and possessed of sufficient integrity and independence of mind to do their duty without fear or affection.

They should be allowed ample salaries ; and their office should be considered next in dignity and importance to the governor or chief executive magistrate of the state.

The censors' seat or station in court, should be at the right hand of the judges, or some where between them and the jury, so as to be situated as conveniently as possible to witness the general proceedings of the court ; they should there notice and record whatever might be thought essential to their general purposes, to the end that the progress of JUSTICE might be rendered as *sure*, *expeditious*, and *economical* as possible.

The censors should have no control over, or interference with, the proceedings of the court ; but to witness, as privileged spectators, and ascertain and report, any part of their transactions that should be considered remarkable, or susceptible of improvement.

The censors should be regarded as the direct agents of the people, to witness THE EXECUTION OF THE LAWS, and to improve THE ROAD TO JUSTICE ; and should be rendered as independent as

possible of all other power or control, but that of their constituents—the sovereign people.

The censors might *depute* persons to act for them occasionally, in case of their being sick or unable to attend court in person.

They should always be bound to attend to any well authenticated complaint, or statement of facts, materially concerning the business of their appointment.

At the close of every judicial year, commencing at some convenient period, the censors from the several judicial districts, should meet at some central and proper part of the state, and there select, arrange and publish in a volume, a digest, or the substance of their ANNUAL REVIEW, of the principal judicial transactions and concerns of the state—noticing every thing worthy of particular reproof, approbation or improvement, in the general character, commencement, management and termination, of suits; the conduct of judges, lawyers, sheriffs, parties, witnesses, or others. They should notice the errors or imperfections of the laws, and constitutions, both of their respective states, and of the general government, when within their view. Every thing, in fine, that has a tendency to create unnecessary expenses, perplexities and delays of justice; and point out every improvement that might be considered practicable, in rendering the way to JUSTICE, as sure, expeditious and economical as possible. So that the legislators in their next session, might be enabled to enact measures to promote the general object in view.

The laws do indeed profess to protect our lives, liberties, reputations and fortunes; but when they become the medium of evil excitements—the *instruments* of fraud, persecution and oppression, it is high time there should be an effectual remedy pointed out and applied.

One virtuous and enlightened judiciary censor, to witness the progress and final result of law proceedings, with a penetrating and steady view to correct and improve the same, would do more to remove the evils complained of, than a host of legislators, without him.

These censors would do more to perfect and expedite correct

and efficient legislation, alone, than doubly to compensate for their services.

The censors might form a body for the trial of impeached judges, and high executive officers.

Judiciary Censor, No. 4.

WRITS, are mostly made out by lawyers, and particularly *special* writs, which are various in form, and in general, extremely ceremonious and hypocritical. They often contain false and malicious charges, and insinuations, and draw foul inferences, that if only made equally public, *without the ceremony and sanctity of the law*, would be considered as actionable offences.

If the plaintiff's declaration was only a plain simple *charge*, or statement of the principal *facts* he complains of, made under *oath*, or affirmation, this difficulty would, in a great measure, be obviated.

A writ, never ought in fact to be granted at the solicitation of an individual, without their first making oath or affirmation to the *truth* of the matter complained of; and the magistrate or person granting the writ, should be held responsible for there being *law* for grounding the action.

The plaintiff should not only state the facts he complains of, fairly and truly written, and subscribe an oath or affirmation to the truth of his charge; but he should have included in his writ, the substance, or name, at least, of the particular statute or *law* by virtue of which he claims his remedy.

The defendant, after being duly served with a copy of the writ, should reply and state the grounds of his defence, or principal facts, in writing, and subscribe an oath or affirmation to the truth of the same—or, at least, he should be allowed a reasonable time to make such a reply, if he intends to set up any defence against the suit and charges; his neglecting such a reply, without some special reasons to justify the same, should be construed against him, or considered as a fair presumption of his dishonest inten-

tions, and always terminated to his disadvantage, in a merited and just degree.

In all disputable causes, where the nature of the case will admit, or justify the attempt, the plaintiff should not be permitted to litigate, or proceed to a *trial* of the case, without first having made a fair effort, (either before the suit was brought, or in good season previous to the time of trial,) to effect a compromise or peaceable settlement of the matter in dispute.*

As suits of law are now conducted, lawyers are enabled to lead the parties *blindfold* into vexatious and ruinous contests ; which the parties might avoid, by being made acquainted with the actual state of the case, in good season to effect a compromise or peaceable settlement, before the time of trial.

It is quite common, in our courts, for parties to be *surprised*, on trial, with testimony or other matter in evidence, which they might easily have confuted or done away, had they been given timely notice of the same ; and thereby avoided the injustice resulting from false evidence. New or *second* trials, are often had to correct the errors of such blind proceedings.

Each of the parties being in possession of the actual state of the case—that is, the defendant being furnished with a copy of the plaintiff's *charge*, the *law* by virtue of which he claims his remedy, together with the principal facts or *evidence* in support of his charge, and the plaintiff, in return, being duly served with the defendant's *reply*, including the chief *evidence* on which he grounds his defence, a reasonable time before the trial ; the parties would be enabled to see their own situations, and, whether they were in the wrong intentionally or other ways, they would be much more likely to compromise or settle their differences peaceably, and avoid the trouble, expense, and uncertain issue of a protracted controversy.

There should always be an honourable encouragement held out to induce parties at variance to compromise or settle their differ-

* One of the articles of the (late) Spanish constitution, expressly declares that a suit at law cannot be brought, until conciliatory measures have first been resorted to.

ences peaceably. Such settlements often deserve a friendly notice in public newspapers, especially when effected after an action had been commenced and the cause aggravated, so as to disturb the ordinary peace of society, or to endanger the ultimate good of the parties at variance. Certainly every thing that has a tendency to promote the harmony, and prosperity of society generally, as well the honour and good of individuals, is deserving of the notice of a faithful public sentinel.*

When one has been misled, by ignorance or passion, it is one of the noblest traits of the human character, to *correct ourselves*.

If my neighbour, through a hasty or mistaken impression, or to gratify a crooked or overbearing disposition, institutes a suit against me—a desire manifested on my part to avoid the trouble, vexation and expense of a protracted, aggravating and unnecessary contest, by an immediate and peaceable compromise, or reference of the matter at variance, would, most probably, under present circumstances, be artfully construed into a confessed fear, or deficiency, on the grounds of my defence, instead of a just, pacific and wise sense of duty, both as a Christian and good citizen.

Judiciary Censor, No. 5.

THERE should always be an inducement held out to invite criminal and other offenders to a voluntary *confession*; and if for no other purpose than to save the state or individuals the trouble and expense of a trial;† but the *example* of ordinary trials, too often

* Where are all our *peace* societies, and *Christians*, when neighbours war, and the enemy are preying upon the very *vitals* of civil society? Is nothing but *external warfare* regarded as worthy of their notice?—Surely, one *internal* foe to the peace, happiness and prosperity of society, is more to be apprehended than a dozen external enemies.

A peace-maker, is truly a Heavenly character. Have lawyers artfully blinded our eyes against this important and *Christian duty*?

† At the annual meeting of the society for the *prevention of pauperism*, in the city of New York, December, 1823; it is recorded, among the addresses and statements made to the society, and particularly in regard

confirms new offenders, and excites them to farther and more dangerous efforts, and to rely upon new stratagems for success.

"Don't plead guilty—GIVE ME THE MONEY! and let them prove the fact, if they can," said a lawyer, to a young man, who had participated in the division of a sum of money, without knowing the offence attending its possession, and who was disposed to confess and explain the whole matter, as far as he was knowing to the transactions.

The laws were professedly made for the restraint and correction of evil passions; but how often are they perverted into instruments of the basest excitement and indulgence.

Actions, brought without any just, necessary or sufficient cause; suits unnecessarily repeated in the same case, or aggravated, or continued to an excessive or unreasonable length or degree; and every other malicious, vexatious or unnecessary trouble, delay, or expense, occasioned by either party, in necessary suits, should all be provided for with costs and reasonable damages: for why should one man suffer without remedy, from the ignorance, negligence, malice or treachery of others?

If only the suits that originate in malice and treachery, together with the unnecessary delays, vexations, troubles and expenses that are indulged in necessary suits, were properly punished and discontinued, more than one half of the present business and gains of lawyers and others concerned in promoting litigation, would cease.

Under the present perverted state of the laws, and the abuses of litigation, every man of middling or small property, exists, as it were, at the will and pleasure of his more wealthy or numerous foes, who can, at their option, harrass and perplex him with *law-suits*, to his ruin.

The whole profession of lawyers, may be *personal enemies* to an individual, as the case frequently is, on account of his political opinion, undertakings, or ideas of their professional policy—as

to a "refuge for juvenile offenders, before the society of abandoned had received them. That this, upon a moderate calculation, would annually save the city \$30,000; for the conviction of every felon was an expense to the city of \$150."

the priesthood of some of the old countries are, to those who see through their policy and designs, and have virtue and courage enough to expose them. And yet, under existing circumstances, lawyers have the almost sovereign control of all litigious investigations: So that, as the case now seems to be, a man, under such circumstances, is liable to be tried, and to have his case managed by his *most bitter and designing* PERSONAL ENEMIES. But few people, who are not professional lawyers, are sufficiently acquainted with all the *ceremonies, quirks and quibbles* of law proceedings, to manage their own cases; and even if they should undertake to do without the aid or assistance of lawyers, it is probable the whole craft would combine against them, openly, or secretly.

This is certainly a most dangerous and highly alarming state in our political concerns—an evil that is increasing, and is daily preying upon the virtue, liberty and independence of the best members of this republican community, and loudly demands *a speedy and efficient* REMEDY.

Judiciary Censor, No. 6.

As the judicial or *court* business of our country is now conducted, the parties in cases intended for trial, are generally obliged to hire lawyers to *stand sentry*, as it were, at court, from day to day, during the same term, and sometimes for several terms in succession, merely to *answer* whenever their particular case *happens* to be called—that the parties should not be unintentionally defaulted, or nonsuited. This trouble and expense might be easily avoided, by the parties giving due notice, in writing, of their determination to stand trial, and by the courts seasonably fixing the time for each case. The same regulation will save the parties, and witnesses, the trouble and expense of more than one journey and attendance at court, on the same trial, and from unnecessary detention at court, waiting for trials to commence. If either party neglect their compliance with such engagements and regulations, let them suffer a just punishment, by being defaulted, or

nonsuited, and always obliged to pay all the unnecessary trouble and expense they have occasioned the adverse party. For, surely no man ought to suffer for the faults or deficiencies of others.

Written testimony speaks an unequivocal language, that can not easily be denied, or misunderstood; but the extraordinary excitement, bluster and confusion of a trial at court, or the ordinary examination of witnesses there, often produces extremely doubtful results; and at the same time occasions considerable unnecessary delay, trouble and expense. Besides, there are but a small proportion of mankind who can go before a public assembly and tell a straight and consistent story, right off, more especially when touched or attacked every moment by litigious *jugglers*, *blackguards* and *bullies*.

It is often attended with considerable unnecessary trouble and expense, for witnesses to attend court and be there examined, and particularly when their testimony is only required to eke out some formality, or to establish or support some single point or fact.

Some have indeed *denied* their knowledge or recollection of important facts, merely from a dread of going before a court to testify, and be there publicly browbeat, insulted, and twisted.

Men of considerable power and influence, are sometimes permitted to give their testimony in *writing*, while others similarly situated in every other respect, are refused the indulgence.

The general substance of testimony, at least to all important facts, should be written down and signed by the witness, whether taken in, or out of court, and especially if requested by either party; so that *perjury* might be more readily detected, without being subject to the ordinary equivocations and escapes; and so that the same deposition or evidence might be identified and employed again, if necessary, in other courts, and in different cases.

It is often attended with enormous risk, trouble and expense, to obtain depositions from any considerable distance abroad, especially out of the state where the court is to sit.

It generally seems as though courts and lawyers study to make as great a bluster and parade as possible; and that lawyers often

occasion their own clients, a great deal of unnecessary trouble and expense.

And after all, most of the suits litigated are only scummed over—not examined to their origin and foundation, or real *cause*: either from the indolence or inability of the inquisitors, or oftener perhaps from a fear of resulting against their own policy and interest.—The indulgence of vicious transgressors must be connived at and *encouraged*, or mankind will find that honesty is truly the best policy, and cease to resist justice from design, or to practice and encourage deceit, fraud and crimes.

Witnesses to important facts, and perhaps all witnesses in cases of considerable interest and excitement, especially when there are more than one to testify on the same subject or matters of fact, should be examined *separately*, for hearing each others stories, prevents them from unintentional contradiction, and defeats the ultimate detection of much false swearing. It also excites treachery in persons of wavering integrity.

If every person who was called upon to testify to important matter, was required to *sign* the same, or at least the written *substance* of the testimony, and knew that it would be preserved, after being publicly read in court—they would be much more cautious of testifying falsely.

It should be a common and indispensable privilege, secured to all classes, the right and opportunity of *acknowledging* actions for the security and collection of debts, so as to facilitate the final execution of justice, without any unnecessary delay, trouble or expense. And no method of *keeping off* justice, should be licensed or indulged, in the actions or omissions of judges; lawyers, sheriffs, or any persons entrusted with the execution of the laws.

Suppose a court composed of three or more justices of the peace, agreeable to the nature and magnitude of the case, to sit at regular periods, or to be called together as occasion might require, and serve as a court of record, (every tribunal should be a court of record,) in every considerable township or district for the purpose, and try cases of a certain magnitude and description, with power to grant execution to unlimited amount, for indisputable claims. Such a tribunal would not only enable our citizens to avoid most

of the delays, trouble and expense of going a considerable distance to a county house, but would be quite as likely to do justice in the end, as any of our present established courts. Perhaps it might be advisable to employ a jury in addition, in disputable cases of certain magnitude. A judicious arrangement of such a court or counsel of justices, would be ultimately bringing good and wholesome justice nigher to our own doors; and every year would be adding essentially to the general knowledge, and ultimate perfection of the plan.

Every judicial decision of a disputable cause, however small in magnitude or amount, should, particularly at the request of either party, be attended with a definite *written opinion* of the court, jury, or whoever acted as judges in the case—showing the *facts*, and the *law*, that governed their conclusions; so that, if there were any just and well grounded exceptions, they might be filed as errors in the finding or decision, to be submitted in *writing*, for the *review* and final correction of the same, or a higher council or authority.

Giving decisions in *gross*, has been the cause of innumerable errors, and great injustice, both from ignorance, accident, and *design*, and must naturally involve judicial proceedings in endless darkness and error. It seems difficult to believe that such a course ever was contemplated by our legislative law makers. If a man **KNOWS** what *law* he judges by, and the *facts* in evidence that rules his decision, he certainly can tell them and explain himself.

The treatment of our *juries*, is anti-republican, and highly improper; and the usage they often experience from some invested with judicial authority, betrays a deadly hostility to this essential agency of justice and human liberty.

There certainly is no justice, and I can see no reason, in giving one set of men, delegated to sit in judgment upon the affairs of their fellow men, a permanent and high salary, and in occasionally snatching others from their daily occupations and concerns, to try cases, without allowing them, hardly enough to defray their necessary expences.

Juries are often *overruled*, or worried into compliance with the

opinion of the court, and their opinions and influence thus trifled with or destroyed. Sometimes we see it announced to the public, after stating the particulars of the case, that the judge *directed* the jury to find a bill for, the plaintiff, or defendant, as the case may be.

How absurd is it, too, to COMPEL the *whole* number of a jury to *agree*! and, as the case is in some places, to *shut them up*, like brutes, or felons, or *starve* them into compliance!

Why not take the opinion of the jury, (in writing, and each one separately, if necessary,) before they leave the court room? and have the opinion of a certain majority, be decisive? According to the Spanish constitution, (of 1820,) eight of the twelve jurymen agreeing in their decision of a case, is sufficient.

In the present case, while the juries are *shut up* by themselves, if you can get *one* of them, of a suitable character, on your side, he may *juggle* the rest into compliance with his will, or OUTHOG, the whole!

Judiciary Censor, No. 7.

Encouragement for Litigation.—Those who *commence* law suits, have apparently many and important advantages. The plaintiff or person who commences an action, generally takes every possible advantage of the case, in the points and position set forth in his writ and declaration. He also takes his choice of lawyers—courts—judges, in many instances—times and places; and, in some places, he can attach all the defendant's property, and body too, if he chooses—with, or without any justifiable cause!*

* There is sometimes a kind of *despotism* exercised in this way over fellow-beings, that is absolutely abhorrent to the human feelings.

Is there any other country where human liberty is held so *cheap*, as in some parts of this boasted land of liberty—where one may seize his fellow-man, and confine him in prison under a pretext of debt, without the fact, or even *probability* being first ascertained; and, on his being finally cleared from the charge, in most instances at least, he is left without

Where the plaintiff or his lawyers, are allowed to make the *first* and *last* plea, in arguing a case, there is an undue, and often powerful advantage, over the defendant; and no doubt this practice has been indulged to encourage the unjust and unnecessary institution of lawsuits.

Quibbles.—In order to encourage litigation as much as possible, it seems, a number of different pleas are allowed in defence of the same case:

I remember an instance, in one of the high state courts, wherein damages were claimed for the non-fulfilment of a plain written contract, signed and sealed in the presence of two reputable and subscribing witnesses, wherein the defendant was permitted to set up *three* different and distinct pleas in his defence—either of which, proving true, would have been sufficient. In the first plea, the defendant denied the *execution* of the contract, (his signature must have been a *forgery*, then, and ought to have been given as a final plea;) in the second plea, the defendant owned he executed the contract, but that it had been fulfilled and *discharged*; and in the third plea, the defendant owned he executed the contract, and that it had never been fulfilled or discharged, but that his not fulfilling of it was *no damage* to the plaintiff.

Were any person, voluntarily to tell such a story in his own private dealings, justification or defence, he would be considered

any adequate and practicable remedy for the actual cost, trouble—indignity and injury done his person and property.

It is humiliating and degrading to the character of a freeman or republican citizen, to be seized and dragged to prison like a felon, for no other fault than merely owing a sum of money beyond his immediate means of payment. At least, some probable cause of fraud or misconduct should be officially ascertained, before the keys of a prison should be turned upon a human, rational being.

What becomes of our boasted security against injustice, oppression and cruelty, defined by our national and state bills of right, constitutions, laws &c.—wherein it is defined, that no man shall be molested or injured in his person or property, *without just cause*? that *excessive* bail shall not be required, &c.—where is the remedy, or guard against these abuses? Certainly it is not in the general disposition, *interests*, or conduct of our judges and lawyers, to be just and humane.

as a most detestable *lying scoundrel*. And yet, it seems this is all considered fair and honourable in *law* proceedings. No matter how much unnecessary trouble and expense is made the parties ; nor what crooked, hypocritical examples are established, or corrupt unprincipled excitements are held out, or indulged—provided *lawyers* can share well in the general spoil, and sow the seeds of future litigation for their continued harvest !

Tricks of law.—The various little artifices and indulgences that might be appropriately defined under this title, are numerous ; and reflect shame and disgrace on many who preside in our courts. To *exclude* evidence, under some ceremonies or frivolous pretext, is not the least of these artifices. Just as if a court or jury were not to be trusted, or were not competent to determine whether the evidence has any connection or bearing in the case, or whether it has any weight of truth or consistency on its side.

The *whole* truth concerning a case, ought to be admitted in evidence ; and every reasonable inquiry should be answered, made by a jury man, or any one who was trying a case.

Every unnecessary or improper inquiry, evidence or explanation, would generally serve to tire or disgust a court, jury or whoever was hearing the case, and finally terminate to the disadvantage of the party indulging in it, especially if the transaction is duly noticed.

At least, a general view of the *cause*, out of which a considerable action or controversy arose, should be investigated and understood ; and every thing that was just and reasonable should always be allowed in evidence or pleadings, to *explain* a case, fairly.

The final result of many of our lawsuits, seems to depend more on the sophistries and other little artifices of lawyers, than upon the actual merits of the cases. Such differences might as well be settled by a cast of the die, as to the *justice* of their final result, and avoid the delay, trouble and expense of a law suit, as to terminate them as they often are done.

It is certainly dangerous and absurd, to entrust an individual with power to cramp, circumscribe or obstruct inquiries, necessary to the maintenance of human rights and privileges.

Nothing can be more absurd, than to explain to a court, openly, before the witnesses, or adverse party, the design and application of every inquiry, as it often enables the witness, if crooked or partially inclined, to defeat the very object of enquiry. He then sees the very point aimed at in asking him questions, and can generally fashion his answers to avoid crossing or catching himself, or injuring the party he intends to favor.

Parties should always be allowed their oaths, and then be strictly examined: If they perjure themselves, punish them. Their interest in the case should be considered, and their testimony no farther regarded, than should appear just and reasonable, in connexion with other matter, under all the existing circumstances of the case.

Individuals are often permitted to testify in cases, wherein they are directly or indirectly interested in the final result, nighly or quite as highly as the parties themselves.

To permit *one* of a party thus interested, to testify, and exclude the other from his oath and explanation, is often like holding down one and letting the other *maul* him!

Well digested and candidly *written* arguments, to be read or given into a court, jury, or whoever might have the hearing and decision of a case, should be encouraged. They would be likely to give a more brief, candid and fair representation and view of a case, than all the sophistry, quibbling, and bawling, that ever beset our courts and other public assemblies—bewildering and disgusting men of common intelligence and feelings: and thereby avoid the unnecessary confusion of a case;—save time, cost and trouble, and in the end, greatly facilitate good sound and wholesome JUSTICE.

Besides, and what is of the greatest consequence to the liberty, virtue, prosperity and happiness of mankind in general, and particularly to the people of this republican community; in this way, any competent person might *write* the arguments and statements of a case, and thereby ultimately save us from the all-grasping power and influence of lawyers—who often act as litigious *jugglers*, *blackguards* and *bullies*, and absolutely *murder* justice and civil liberty.

Judiciary Censor, No. 8.

THE *administration* of the law, is far more important than the legislative authority that enacts them; for even bad laws may be rendered tolerable, under the administration of persons friendly to the rights, liberty and happiness of mankind. But when the judges and lawyers have one general object in view, contrary to the spirit and meaning of the law, it is not difficult to see how they may accomplish their purposes, according to some present practices and indulgences, even in direct violation of the plainest laws.

"You may make what laws you please, only let me *interpret* their meaning, and *administer* or carry them into effect, and I will generally make them answer my purpose," said a notorious corrupt and tyrannical judge.

The judges of our courts, are, in a great measure, *sovereigns* of our political rights:—

They can declare a statute unconstitutional and refuse to enforce it; they can indulge vexatious, and unnecessary suits—quibbles, delays, and expenses, to favor one of the parties, at the expense and injury of the other—or to increase the fees and profits of lawyers and others concerned in court expences, to the injury of both, plaintiff and defendant—(in many instances, they admit domestic or *foreign* law, as best suits their purposes;) they can reject proper evidence, or admit that which is improper, and give a *cant* and *coloring* to favor their designs in regard to either party; and finally put what construction they please, upon the laws, evidence, and pleadings: In some cases they absolutely make law, to suit themselves! So that, in fact, there is very little to prevent the judges from doing pretty much as they please, in most of the cases that are tried and finally decided, by them. And even when juries are employed, the judges generally exercise a kind of authority over their proceedings, that sometimes amounts, nighly or quite to a decision of the case.

In some instances, a single individual, sitting as sole judge of a court, can regulate and prescribe the admission of evidence, and

pleadings; even that which is brought before a jury, and then charge the jury with such a summary of *the case*, (evidence, &c.) as best suits his own private interest, feelings and designs; and, if the jury finally bring in contrary to the intentions of the judge, he can *harangue* them—testify and plead, and send them out again, *three times in succession*, in the same case. And, after all this, if the decision does not finally please the judge, (this little judicial *sovereign* on the *throne* of judgment,) he can grant a *new trial*, in some instances: and then, in some places, they can *err* the judgment, in their final and last resort, as members of the court of errors or final revision and decision of cases.

This is certainly a dangerous, and highly improper power, to rest in the hands of a few individuals, who are under very little practicable restraint or accountability for their conduct.

Besides, the judges of our courts, in some places, exercise the power of making appointments to office; granting certain licenses, and privileges, and regulate and control prison limits.

We employ a great number of men, some times several hundred in a body, to legislate and make our laws, and then submit them to a very few to interpret and carry into effect. There are seldom more than three or four persons in number, who control the final decisions of our supreme courts; and who, not only establish *points*, and give *meaning* to our own make of laws; but often adopt new principles of *their own coining*, and the *decisions of foreign courts*, AS LAW, and sometimes in actual contempt of our legislative authority.—The creature becomes greater than its creator—the little tyrant, placed upon the throne of judgment, almost beyond the reach of human authority and control, hurls defiance at those below him, and sends down *vengeance*, instead of justice, on those who dare express a doubt of his infallibility.

And after all, ONE MAN—the chief executive magistrate, of the state, or nation, as the case may be, generally has the power invested in him, if he chooses to use it, (for a good or *bad* purpose,) to suspend, or finally annul the whole, in many cases, by abating the penalty incurred, or by pardoning and letting loose upon society, even those convicted of the most base and criminal offences.

Why trust a single individual with the power of life and death? Call it what you will, this idea of the *infallibility* of a single individual, bears the full stamp of MONARCHY.

Judiciary Censor, No. 9.

TRIALS before courts, have a virtuous or vicious tendency, pretty much as the judges and lawyers are inclined.

To suppose that a judge or lawyer can be *indifferent*, in a contest between right and wrong—betwixt *virtue* and *vice*, is admitting that they are destitute of common discernment and feelings. A person of pretty good penetration will generally see which *side* the court are inclined to, in spite of their studied and accustomed reserve—something will generally betray their feelings, policy or designs, in looks, words or actions.

If those who have the chief management and control of lawsuits, are disposed to aid or connive at the final evasion of justice, their efforts, however studied and reserve, will have a general tendency to *encourage* vice, and to *discourage* virtue; and, on the contrary, if those who conduct and control public investigations, are determined friends of truth, justice and humanity, their conduct will naturally inspire the hopes and encourage the efforts of the better part of community.

In fine—those who administer, or carry the laws into effect, have ten times the power and influence to promote virtue or vice, as they are inclined, than any other branch of public power or authority.

Some of our plainest statutes have been superseded by the *practice* of courts, in some of their efforts to facilitate the final evasion of justice—to render the laws complex, obscure and difficult to be understood—so that, instead of looking to our statutes, we must consult the *practice* of our courts to know what to rely upon: and even that is rendered precarious and uncertain, from the numerous and conflicting opinions, indulged and recorded.

Every wilful and unnecessary sacrifice of a person's property,

made under process or colour of law, should be punished, and finally guarded against—even much more rigidly than a wanton or malicious destruction by other means, as it has a powerful tendency to vitiate, and to familiarize us to, a perversion of the final ends of justice.

All the time, trouble and money expended in unnecessary law proceedings, is generally much worse than a dead loss to society, as it chiefly goes to increase the wealth, power and influence, of a dangerous craft.

A considerable *lawsuit*, in many places, is regarded as almost as great a calamity, to a family or neighbourhood, as a pestilence or fire. The havoc they make is often terrible, and visible for a great extent, and length of time.

Judiciary Censor, No. 10.

IN the making and administration of the laws, for the government of a republic, the greatest possible care and precaution should be taken, to guard against the overbearing and undue power and influence of men possessed of extra wealth, learning, influence and authority ; and all unwarrantable combinations or conspiracies against individuals : because, this is the most dangerous, and destructive of the rights, security and prosperity of the common people, and the most to be apprehended, of any thing adverse to justice and rational liberty, that could readily happen in this country.

After all the care and precautions that could well be employed in making wise, equal and just laws, if those who *administer* them are not disposed to guard against the undue power and influence of unequal and unjust combinations against individuals, justice, virtue and human liberty will be corrupted and finally *crushed* ; for when men of crooked and overbearing tempers and designs, once find they can be gratified with impunity, there is a broad road laid open for the ultimate destruction of the common people.

Judges should have their duties definitely and extensively defined in their oaths, which should be recorded, and they required to sign the same ; and when they perjure themselves, they should be punished, like other men, for their offences.

Every judicial officer, of every name and grade, should always be required to construe the laws *in favour of justice*. And also to exercise every reasonable favour and assistance towards those who undertake to manage their own cases, or act without the assistance of a lawyer.

All cases of a certain magnitude and description, should be examined and decided by the judicial magistrates holding court, without the employment or interference of lawyers on either side : because, if one of the parties at variance employ a lawyer, the other must generally adopt the same method, in order to guard against the little artifices of the *craft* ; and if either party employ two, three or more lawyers to manage their cases, their opponents are generally obliged to employ equal forces in the contest. The whole expenses of which often far exceeds any thing that the magnitude or amount of the contest, would justify. But this is but the smallest evil resulting from employing lawyers in every petty case ; for they generally strive to multiply, aggravate and complex, trifling differences into serious troubles, and eventually leave the parties impoverished, corrupted and inflamed, to the injury of themselves and the community in general.

The progress of this example, of magistrates examining and settling cases without the interference of lawyers, is continually recorded in the English papers, giving the particulars ; some of the most singular of which are republished in our papers. Whether this is an actual law, or the magistrate has the power to reject the interference of lawyers, or the practice is the result of a voluntary custom, it is nevertheless an example worthy of adoption.

Judges should be held accountable, like other men, for injuries they occasion others in violation of their proper duty—or it should be acknowledged, at once, that they, like sovereign princes, *can do no wrong*.

Judiciary Censor, No. 11.

WHEN two neighbors or fellow beings are at variance—instead of trying to push them *further apart*, by enflaming their passions and exciting their rapacity, treachery or malice, as interested and unprincipled lawyers generally do; if a real friend or two of justice and humanity, were to come some where *between* the parties, and endeavor to cool down their passions and moderate their extreme expectations and desires—bring them *nigher together*, as judicious friends or mediators, and finally induce them to hear to justice and reason, how much better it would be for society.

When we duly reflect on the consequences, every good man, in his sober senses, would naturally wish that such a friend might come to his aid and assistance, in time of need, and save him from the influence of extreme passions, and prejudices; and always guard him against the advice, influence and control of those who are *interested* in involving their fellow men in endless troubles and expences of law proceedings—save them from the *fangs*—power and corrupt influence of the *wolves* and *vultures* of litigation!

Judges, justices of the peace, and all magistrates, court authorities, and officers who preside in courts and deliberate assemblies, should endeavour to restrain and keep down every thing like either *levity*, or *malice*, in the proceedings; and they should always take particular care to suppress the little artifices and cunning of unprincipled and designing lawyers and others to excite the *passions* of witnesses, juries, or others concerned in trials, for truth and reason generally depart when *passion* takes the reins.

A tribunal of *justice*, should proceed in their inquiries and deliberations, with dignity, candor and firmness; and every studied outrage or material deviation from this course, should be suppressed, and punished, if necessary for the maintenance of due order and subordination.

Every undue attempt to make *fun*, and produce *laughter*, or to excite *treachery*, or *malice*, should be promptly put down, suppressed or defeated.

We should endeavour constantly to bear in mind, when consulting lawyers, that it is their *interest*, (though certainly not for their honor,) to involve the concerns of their clients and fellow men, in unnecessary troubles and expenses, in order to increase and prolong their own professional gains, power and influence—and not generally to advise and assist mankind for their actual and best good ; and that they are professionally in the habit of disguising their actual policy and designs.

I once employed a lawyer to settle and collect some accounts, who voluntarily told me, he should not intentionally involve me in any controversies, for he said he was no *advocate* ; and he really proved a very worthy and useful man.

“ Only *pension* us,” said the lawyers of old, “ and we will then change our main policy and conduct, and endeavour to render the laws, and the administration thereof, as plain, sure, expeditious, and economical, as possible ; but were we to relinquish our present gains, power and advantages, without a substitute—by cultivating the wisest and best measures for the people ; and finally, perhaps learn mankind to do without much of our professional aid and assistance, we should, by so doing, only be robbing ourselves for the general benefit of the human race.”

The people of the United States have learned to do without *sovereign princes*, *artificial* nobles, and other like distinctions. We have also shown the world a better way to suppress Barbary and other piracies, than to *pension* them. We have seen, too, that the Friends or Quakers can adjust human differences, and maintain a most excellent state of society, without having much to do with lawsuits, or lawyers—even in a country where lawyers are in power. And it is fair to presume that the good people of every country will be benefitted by these examples, in the end.

Judiciary Censor, No. 12.

THE judges of our courts, have to ransack and study the decisions of British courts, (which constitute the main substance

of our *common law*,) in order to define criminal and other offences, and then explain the same in their addresses to grand juries, at the opening of court, and in their definitions and final charges to other juries, on the trial of cases. And thus, different judges give their definitions and views of offences, and of law. This is all wrong.

Instead of which, every state should have an established code of law, classing, and defining in general terms, under definite heads, the nature and character of the various criminal and other offences ; together with their several penalties ; and the necessary proceedings to carry the law into effect : so that we might turn to our code of law, and comprehend their meaning and application, as readily as the words of a common dictionary.

This would establish one uniform and definite standard, and course of proceeding, intelligent to all people of good common sense and information ; save our judges and lawyers the time, trouble and expense of ransacking and studying the immense mass of British *law lumber* ; and greatly abridge the trouble, expense, *vezation* and final UNCERTAINTY, of our law proceedings.

This would produce a degree of justice and equality among professional lawyers, by apportioning the business more generally among them—and not let a few of the most learned, in the quirks, quibbles and *uncertainties* of *LAWCRAFT*, run away with nine tenths of the *profits* of litigation.*

* The following piece, (taken from the *National Journal*,) may serve to explain, a little, what the *craft* would be at.

In a debate which arose in the British House of Commons, during the last session, on the *Delays in Court of Chancery* some curious facts were detailed. We select the following. Mr. Williams said “the Court of Chancery was so odious a dungeon that he who was once immured seldom escaped without loss of comfort, fortune and life.” He further declared that “in England 99 lawyers out of 100 were utterly ignorant of the principles on which real property was transferred.” “It is this uncertainty, said the same commoner, which fills the insatiate maw of Chancery with so many dainty morsels, and occasions such delightful pickings for the Chancery Lawyers.” These assertions he illustrated by references to many cases before the Chancellor.

Dr. Lushington stated a case, in his own knowledge and practice,

In publicly announcing the *amount* of damages awarded for certain offences, by courts and juries, the publishers should endeavour to ascertain and state the sum actually paid and received, beyond *all* the cost, risk, trouble and expenses of the prosecutor. This would enable the public to see the *whole*, and to detect much of the hypocrisy and insufficiency of law proceedings, as they are usually conducted. For many high sounding and enticing awards have been announced as recovered, where in fact little or nothing was ever paid and received; and, in many, if not in most cases, the actual trouble and expense of the prosecutor, beyond what they recover in cost, amounts to nighly or quite all they receive.

I knew a case where an action for defamation was brought, and fifteen hundred dollars damages finally awarded, while the prosecutors expenses amounted to about *ten thousand dollars*; so that he was greatly the loser in mere money—besides all his trouble and vexation.

Unprincipled and designing lawyers don't like to have these things noticed, as it has a tendency to expose their *craft*, and to deter people from hastily entering into lawsuits, and especially in claims for damages.

Judiciary Censor, No. 13.

LAWYERS sometimes club, or some how volunteer their services *in defence of rogues*, when they are arrested and had up for examination, or trial, and *without fees*, particularly when culprits

where 'one of the most honest and respectable solicitors in London, had found it impossible, with safety to his client, to compress the abstract of a Title to an Estate in less than *eight hundred* sheets of paper.' Mr. Taylor mentioned 'an amicable suit instituted in Chancery which was not determined under *thirty-eight* years.' In this debate Mr. Brougham mentioned that a commission appointed by the House, on the abuses of Public charities, had made "reports which were contained in some 12 or 13 rather unsightly and decidedly bulky *Folios*."

appear destitute of the means of compensating their services—although they seldom do the same in defence of honest men.

There is a mountainous pass in Naples infested by a gang of robbers, who, if a traveller *fees* one, he will guard and protect him against the rest, otherways travellers are pretty sure to be robbed by some of the gang : so they determine to have some of travellers money, one way or the other.* If there were none to rob, there would be no occasion to employ any to guard and protect, and the business would all go down together.

It is pretty much so with lawyers business in counseling and assisting rogues : if it were not for their indulgence, and exertions *against* justice, there would be little or no employment for lawyers to enforce the laws. Besides, for the want of able prompters and assistants in villainy, rogues would generally be discouraged in their desperate pursuits, and be finally compelled to undertake some honest course of life, and thereby the practice of law would be greatly diminished.

Are our laws so unjust, or unreasonable ; or are those appointed to execute them, so treacherous, or despotically inclined, as to require, or justify the employment of, great exertions to *resist* their execution—to *keep justice off*—to *encourage* and *harden* criminals and other offenders ?

Judiciary Censor, No. 14.

WHEN public grievances, or abuses of power, are complained of, those in authority, and particularly if *interested* in the abuses or evils, are too apt to study only a temporary or partial relief, rather

* It has lately been noticed in the newspapers—and with a kind of *squinting*, that this or another gang of 28 in number, “*condescended*” to surrender themselves up to the police ! No doubt these depredators were in secret connivance with police officers, who probably shared a part of their plunder. Are not such things sometimes done—even in our own country ?

than perfect a substantial cure, and guard against the occurrence of the evils in future.

Thus, the enemies of justice and human improvement, flatter themselves that the call for a truly *republican* and *civilized* code of law, lately made and loudly repeated, in several parts of this union, will soon die away and be mainly forgotten; and that our present system and practice of law, will go on, without any essential alterations or actual improvement, and finally be settled down, to pretty much what they are in England—where there is *law without justice*—where the *toll* of litigation is bigger than the grist—where the whole trouble and expense of lawsuits, are estimated to have cost on an average, more than the amount actually litigated and finally recovered!

Only let *one* of the states establish a complete civilized and republican code of law, and all the rest will undoubtedly follow in its adoption—with such alterations as their peculiar situation and interests require. When this is done, then see what becomes of the *enemy* to improving the common road to justice!

A truly *civilized* and *republican* code of law, is one of the greatest benefits ever conferred on a people.

This nation must either rise to the highest pitch and elevation of human virtue, wisdom and excellence, to the everlasting gratitude, joy and glory of civilized man, or sink to the scorn and derision of the world. We are already on the march; let us persevere, then, until we arrive at that elevation and improved state of the human character and condition, that we may safely pause and contemplate with lasting benefit and satisfaction.

We have volunteered in this glorious reform; let us not then shrink from the dignity and importance of the undertaking. The eyes of the world are upon us. The day will come when foreigners of the highest worth shall visit this country to complete and improve their education and knowledge—to behold the wonders of a VIRTUOUS, ENLIGHTENED and FREE PEOPLE!

Arbitrations.

A JUDICIOUS mode of *arbitrations*, is certainly the most correct, expeditious, convenient, and economical, method of deciding controversies, of any that has ever been adopted.

NUGENT, an English *doctor of laws*, in his travels through Germany, in speaking of Hamburgh, says, "They have an excellent method of reconciling parties, and preventing lawsuits, which is that of *arbitrations*."

They adopted, what was called an *arbitration law*, a number of years ago, in Pennsylvania; and which had a good effect, as far as it was properly conducted; but the unnceasing arts and efforts of unprincipled and designing lawyers, to render this law subservient to their crooked policy and purposes, has, already, it is feared, proved nighly or quite successful.

One thing is pretty certain, that, wherever unprincipled *lawyers* have the chief management and control of arbitrations, they will most probably endeavour to make them instruments of injustice, or otherways render them unpopular.

Various good effects of well regulated and judiciously conducted arbitrations, are within my recollection; two of which I will briefly notice.—The inhabitants of the township of, in the state of ———, were formerly very highly esteemed for their excellent good characters; and which was finally found to result, chiefly from a method they had long practised, of settling their personal differences, and other matters in dispute, by *arbitration*, and preventing lawsuits. At the time now referred to, the township contained about 2300 inhabitants; who were chiefly farmers and mechanics; and from their first settlement until this time, there never had been a *lawyer* employed in the town. The people were generally honest, industrions, prosperous, and happy. If any among them were disposed to be dishonest, or otherways faulty, there was not any lawyer at hand to be hired to justify, or conceal their offences, or otherways juggle them out of the hands of justice. The little arts of sophistry, and quibbling, were discountenanced, and knavery put down; so that men

found it truly the best policy, 'to be honest, and *consistent with themselves*.

When any personal differences arose, or offences were committed, which the parties could not adjust, or settle among themselves, the case was promptly submitted, agreeably to a rule they had established, to the decision of an arbitration. The arbitrators generally consisted of from two to six persons, judiciously selected for the particular occasion, agreeable to the nature and magnitude of the case. The arbitrators were men who participated in the general harmony and prosperity of the place, and had no interest in exciting, or prolonging expensive and vexatious controversies. They barely received a moderate compensation for the time they necessarily spent in attending to the business—besides the sweet and durable satisfaction of being the instruments of justice and harmony among their neighbours and fellow men !

The parties appeared before the arbitrators, and each made a simple statement of their case, and produced their proof, when it was required, and to be had ; the arbitrators made what inquiries they thought necessary, and, after reasoning the case over among themselves, they finally decided—always without any pleadings. There was, however, very few differences, at the time now referred to, which the parties could not settle among themselves. And this would be the case with the public generally, if it was only properly encouraged. Mankind are seldom such fools, as to contend in law, voluntarily, without *management*, without some artful excitement, or *encouragement* of a final and undue advantage, somehow or other, in the end.

The general harmony and prosperity of the inhabitants of this town ; their excellent and upright characters, all chiefly resulting from their method of adjusting personal differences, and preventing lawsuits ; at length attracted the serious attention of some of the most sagacious lawyers, who, after considering the subject among themselves, (probably at one of their *bar* meetings ;) finally concluded, that the example might be followed, by other people, to the ultimate diminution of the influence and professional gains of lawyers, and therefore resolved to counteract it. For which purpose, they selected one of the most crafty and *smooth tongued*

members of their professional club, to go and settle in the town ; and who soon won over the confidence, and allied himself to, some of the most influential families of the place, by marrying the daughter of their priest, (*elder*, I believe he was called.) This seemed to give a kind of *sanctity* to the lawyers' designs ; and, as he was a sly intriguing character, and had his views favoured by the chief rulers of the state, he soon found means to stir up a spirit of litigation and set the inhabitants at war. This soon made business for another lawyer in the town, to oppose suits brought by the first ; to bring *retaliating* actions, and, particularly to manage the cases that were carried up to the State courts.—

The inhabitants began to sell out, mortgage, or make over their property, and to make other considerable sacrifices, in order to raise money and carry on their lawsuits. This also created brokers and sharpers, who stood ready to take every possible advantage of their neighbours embarrassments and distress—and even to join their efforts with the lawyers, to produce, and prolong their neighbours' troubles, in order to increase their own opportunities and final gains.—Until a spirit of confusion, treachery, persecution, oppression, and jealousy or distrust, seemed to pervade the whole town ; and finally began to dissolve this little community of republicans, and drive them off to other places, in pursuit of that peace, security, prosperity and happiness they had formerly enjoyed at home—as if *satan* had actually entered their political paradise !

It is about twenty years, at the present time, since the first lawyer moved into this town, and yet the inhabitants have greatly decreased in numbers ; the property is much more unequally possessed among them, than it was before the spirit of litigation was introduced. Some of the biggest knaves and hypocrites have increased their wealth ; but the greatest proportion of the inhabitants, have been reduced to a poor, discouraged, degraded and miserable *race of quibblers*. In short, the town is becoming notorious for the treachery, intemperance, hypocrisy and meanness of its inhabitants.

Many who have been ruined in fortune and prospects, them-

selves, become crooked instruments in the hands of the lawyers and designing knaves, for the destruction of others.

One further circumstance in regard to the change of character of the inhabitants of this town, is perhaps worthy of notice. Not long after the marriage of the lawyer with the priest's daughter, he was taken into church communion. This example was courted, and finally followed, by others of similar character and designs; until it has become no evidence of a person's *good moral character*, to belong to the church: but frequently excites a suspicion of their hypocrisy and evil designs. Indeed, they seem to be sensible that their characters do not compare with that of a true Christian, and so they call themselves *professors*, or *communicants*—probably to avoid a direct comparison.

It is also worthy of particular notice, that the priest, before his connexion with the lawyer, was a plain unostentatious and truly excellent man—always doing good in society. He was in fact a true Christian, a *peace maker*, and a guide to virtue and human happiness. But his connexion with the consequential and designing lawyer, excited his vanity and pomp, also, and ultimately made him, what is called a *fashionable clergyman*—fond of show, parade, luxuries, and worldly honors and distinctions.*

Another case of the good effects of arbitrations, I shall notice, with a brief view of the transactions out of which it originated; in order, in part, to give some idea of the manner in which the public are sometimes cheated by their agents.

Some time during the late European wars, and while considerable forces were stationed in the West Indies, the master of a West India trader, took a cargo on freight and commissions, to one of the islands. The cargo consisted of three principal articles, and belonged to as many different persons. On arriving at the port of destination, two public agents, one for the supply of the navy, and

* Some called this connexion between the lawyer and the family of the priest, a *union of church and state policy*. One old, plain-spoken man, said, when the lawyer was taken into church, without any apparent change of character, that it reminded him of the fable of the cat and rats—"Something whispers me there is mischief." I fear he is only putting on a sanctified evil, the better to conceal his bad intentions and designs.

the other for the army, appeared as the only purchasers ; each of whom made an offer for the *whole* cargo, at specified prices for each of the three articles, but neither would take any part, unless they had the whole. Each of the agents wanted the biggest part of the cargo for *government*, which they rated at *more* than worth, and the remainder for *themselves*, which they rated at much *less* than worth. The master found he could not do better than to take the offer that averaged the most for the whole cargo ; and then, concluding that such a quere transaction would hardly be understood, or believed by his employers, if related, he made an entire account of sales, *equalizing* the prices of the different articles, as fairly as possible. On his return home, the shippers appeared well satisfied, and even pleased with their returns.

Some time after, however, information, some how or other, got to the understanding of the shipper, whose part of the cargo was *rated* at much more than worth, by the purchaser—but which price could not have been obtained separately, nor without sacrificing on the rest of the cargo ; and being a hasty and violent tempered man, he immediately flew *to arms*—consulted a lawyer, who, (without making any candid inquiries into the probable cause of excitement, or perhaps without any further concern than regarded his prospect of obtaining a good round sum for his services, in the end,) said it was a gross piece of fraud, and no manner of doubt, exemplary damages would be recovered. A suit, of course, was authorised, and an action was immediately brought, of the most severe and aggravating character ; and all was a scene of bustle, irritation, and preparation for the final conflict, on both sides—peace and good fellowship had fled the neighbourhood.

A few days after the suit had been commenced, the said master and supercargo, after relating the whole transactions out of which the suit originated, to one of his neighbours, expressed a regret that he should be obliged to abandon his next intended voyage, for which his vessel was nighly loaded and ready for sea, in order to attend to this unnecessary, perplexing, and vexatious lawsuit. The neighbour, who was well convinced that no fraud was either affected, or intended, offered his services as a *mediator*, to effect a compromise or peaceable reference of the matter. But, although

both of the parties appeared willing enough to avoid the trouble, vexation and expense, of a protracted and bitter contest, yet neither would authorise an advance, or explanation, for fear his adversary might get some advantage by it.* They however agreed to meet the friendly neighbour, at a given place, in the evening; where he had convened three judicious and experienced individuals, who were practically acquainted with the West India trade. When met, the active mediator invited his neighbours, (the parties at issue,) to submit their case to the three individuals assembled and then present; they accepted the invitation, and the business was soon settled to their mutual and complete satisfaction. And no body was heard to complain, except the *lawyers*; who probably calculated on a long and profitable job, out of these neighbours' differences, which they knew how to aggravate and keep along—no matter if it had have terminated to the injury, or even ruin, of both the parties, and disturbed the peace and happiness of the neighbourhood for years.

In some places where arbitrations are indulged, they are rendered the subordinate creatures of other courts, and are so hampered and restricted, as to be finally rendered more tedious, hazardous and expensive, than the ordinary established courts of law. This was no doubt designed, by the litigious craft, in order to render arbitrations unpopular.

“*Hang 'em,*” (said a lawyer, to one of his craft, while he was making a mighty bluster and parade, in managing a case before an arbitration,) “*if they will have arbitrations, I'll make them sick of 'em.*”

The Quakers adjust their differences, by a peaceable reference to the arbitration of a few judicious neighbours, or individuals. And no man, who is well acquainted with the state of

* It is astonishing, that, in this enlightened age, and country, any obstacles should be *permitted* to lie in the way of a *peaceable* compromise, or settlement of personal differences; and yet, true it is, that such hindrances are openly and unblushingly licensed and employed!

Justice, and good policy, both, *invite* parties to mutual reconciliations, and a peaceable adjustment of differences.

their society, can be ignorant of the important benefits resulting from such a practice.

It is also one of the rules of the Methodist church, to avoid going to law, as much as possible, by studying to promote a peaceable reference or settlement of their differences.

I have heard of men forming themselves into societies, for the express purpose of having all their disputable matters, settled by arbitration. An attempt to organize an extensive society, for this purpose, has lately been publicly announced, at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and another at Westchester, or some where nigh New-York : but I presume they will both have been defeated, before this goes to the public.

It is certainly inconsistent with our character, either as Christians, or enlightened politicians, to continue much longer to litigate in the usual way. The unnecessary delays, vexations, and expenses; attending the ordinary course of law proceedings—(to say nothing of their unjust decisions, and corrupt excitements and examples, in other respects,) has discouraged thousands of honest and worthy individuals, in attempting to possess, or defend their privileges and property, and ultimately driven them to despair, and either added them and their dependents to the number of public paupers, or multiplied the criminal and other offences against the laws and good order of society.

A general change, in favour of well regulated and judiciously conducted arbitrations, is loudly demanded, by every consideration and regard for the public good.

Let the experiment be fairly tried, on a general scale, and a beneficial consequence will undoubtedly result—and so the lawyers believe, else they would not be so generally opposed to the plan.

If there was a law in each state, making due provisions for such references, whereby either party could compel the other to a peaceable reference of any matter in dispute, or in a train of legal inquiry, to an arbitration, it would be extremely important.

The arbitrations should have original jurisdiction of causes ; and be conducted independent of other courts, and without the

aid or interference of lawyers—mainly upon WASHINGTON'S PLAN.*

After hearing the statement of each party, and the facts or evidence in the case, and making such inquiries of the parties, witnesses, or other where, as the arbitrators think just and necessary; and then reasoning the case over among themselves, they should give their opinion, in *writing*; and, at the request of either party, they should state the principal *facts* they found in the case, and the *evidence* from which they derived those facts, together with the *law*, or rule of *equity*, on which they founded their final judgment:—so that either party might file an exception to their decision, for the review and final correction of the same, or a higher tribunal, in case there should be any gross errors or grounds for correction.

Any one of the arbitrators might also file their exceptions, to any thing that occurred on the trial, or in the decision, to attend the review.

* The following is extracted from Washington's will, and contains provisions for the final settlement of his estate. It is well worthy of particular attention. After defining the disposition of his property, &c. and naming the persons for administering and settling his estate, according to his WILL AND TESTAMENT:—he proceeds thus, in reference to his will:—“in the construction of which, it will readily be perceived, that no professional character has been consulted, or has had any agency in the draught; and, that although it has occupied many of my leisure hours to digest, and to throw it into its present form, it may, notwithstanding, appear crude and incorrect; but having endeavoured to be plain and explicit in all the devises, even at the expense of prolixity, perhaps of tautology, I hope and trust, that no disputes will arise concerning them; but if, contrary to expectation, the case should be otherwise from the want of legal expression, or the usual technical terms, or because too much or too little has been said on any of the devices to be consonant with law, my will and directions expressly is, that all disputes, if unhappily any should arise, shall be decided by three impartial and intelligent men, known for their probity and good understanding: two to be chosen by the disputants, each having the choice of one, and the third by those two; which three men thus chosen shall, unfettered by law or legal constructions, declare the sense of the testator's intentions; and such decision is, to all intents and purposes, to be as binding on the parties, as if it had been given in the supreme court of the United States.”

Arbitrators should always be encouraged and required, to act with the greatest possible impartiality, candor and faithfulness.

If this system of arbitration was once judiciously established in our country, it would soon be improved into the most perfect system of adjustment for human differences and offences, and ultimately bring the most pure and wholesome justice, home to our own doors, as it were.

Such a tribunal would combine the principles of *law* and *equity*, and ultimately supersede both courts. They would be chiefly governed in their decisions, by the common *statutes* or laws of the land, where they were explicit and to the purpose, but *equity* and *reason* would rule their decisions, in other points or cases.

Their object would be to do *justice* to the parties, and when the laws were doubtful or insufficient, the principles of justice and equity would rule their conduct. All of which they would declare in their final award, and especially whenever required.

In cases where there were several individuals acting together as arbitrators in a case, they would have in a considerable degree the effect of a court *and* jury, and might ultimately supersede them both, as a tribunal of superior excellence and advantages.

A brief and explicit statement should be made in *writing*, of every disputable case referred for decision, by each of the parties, plaintiff and defendant, with the arguments or *reasons* they think proper to urge in their favor; so that an arbitration, court, jury, or whoever were to act as judges in the case, might have the same before them; and so that a case might often be referred and settled without the presence of the parties or their special agents—and particularly so as to avoid any long-winded *speech making* on the subject.

The award being definitely stated in *writing*—giving the principal grounds on which the case was decided; the whole might be referred to a superior tribunal, for reviewal and correction, in case of any errors worthy of the trouble and expense.

In the supreme court of the United States, which closed their term in the spring of 1825, at Washington city, after a laborious session, only about thirty cases were acted upon; at the rate of which it has been computed that it would take them five years to

get through with the cases then remaining on the docket of the court! If a written summary of each case had been judiciously referred, as above alluded to, (which is absolutely all that is necessary, if the judges know the law, and are otherwise fit for their stations,) it would have been sufficient to have enabled the court to have *reviewed* the cases on necessary points, and made all the corrections that *justice* and *reason* require; and save the parties, and the public, much unnecessary delay, cost, trouble and expense.

By publishing the most correct and important decisions, made by arbitrations, as before noticed, would promote the improvement of a system and operation of trials, and ultimately perfect one of the most just, safe, economical, expeditious, and important branches of human government.

Arbitrations might be suitable to try cases of any magnitude, and assembled at any *time*, and *place*, most convenient for the parties, and thereby save them much of the time, trouble and expense, occasioned by ordinary courts, and with a far grater prospect of doing *justice* to the parties.

A Brief Contrast between a Miser, and a Spendthrift.

A SPENDTHRIFT, by his profusion, in the hour of plenty, lures the generous and unsuspecting youth, into the train of his amusements and excesses, and ultimately carries them down with him, in his wreck of fortune and constitution.

The spendthrift often squanders that which is not his own; and what he spends goes chiefly to encourage and support some of the worst sharpers and other bad members of society—those who are interested in promoting *excesses* of eating, drinking, gambling, frolicking and debauchery.

The spendthrift plays *havock* with the flower of society, by corrupting, impoverishing and debilitating, the most promising youth, and by feeding and encouraging the *wolves* and *vultures* of society. And finally leaves the world greatly the worse for his existence.

Not so the *miser*. He is not likely to corrupt or ruin any by his conduct and examples. He only *cheats himself for the benefit of posterity*.

The miser's accumulated and hoarded treasure, often excites *envy*; while the squandered fortune, debauched habits, and broken down constitution of the prodigal, rather provokes our scorn and contempt.

But I would neither recommend a spendthrift, nor a miser. *Excesses*, are generally bad : somewhere between the extremes is the best course.

Remarks on the Education of Children, No. 1.

THE first duty required of parents, after providing for the lives and health of their offspring, is to attend to their *education*—to bring them up to be useful and ornamental members of society.

We often see parents encountering great hardships, and undergoing painful deprivations, merely to accumulate and save *wealth for their children*, and at the same time so negligent of their children's future happiness and prosperity in the world, as almost totally to neglect their education.

A family of children, brought up in decent good manners, and taught some useful profession or calling in society, are infinitely better off, with little or no property, than those who have been kept in a state of ignorance, or neglected to contract habits of indolence and dissipation, and left with considerable or large estates.

What can afford a more pleasing sight, or present matter for more agreeable reflection, than a well bred family of children ? It is a kind of *Heaven in miniature*, with all its beauties, harmony, and pleasing consequences. On the contrary, how disgusting and painful to a sensible and reflecting mind, is the sight of an ill-bred family of children ? It is a kind of *hell in miniature*, with all its deformity of human character, confusion and horrible consequences.

Well-bred children are generally a consolation and support to their parents in affliction and old age. They also form supporters

and ornaments of society. But when neglected in their breeding and usefulness, children too often become scourges to their parents, and moths or pests in society. Indeed, it seems as though Providence had wisely ordained the chastisement of such parents, as wilfully neglect the good breeding of their offspring. At any rate, the contrast is surprisingly great, and shows the importance of bringing up children in habits of good manners and usefulness, to the neglect of accumulating and saving wealth, and especially beyond a tolerable competence, or beginning..

Children left in the world with considerable or large estates, without the knowledge of accumulating and making a wise appropriation of their wealth, are like *a purse without a sword, or a full storehouse without lock, or tender*. They often serve as prey for pickpockets, and food for sharpers.

Habits of industry and care, judiciously inculcated while the mind is tender and ardent, are more lasting, and less expensively acquired, than after the mind becomes callous, or occupied with useless impressions.

Experience teaches the youth for *cents*, and *dimes*; but she charges OLD BLOCKHEADS for instruction, in *dollars*, and *eagles*—sometimes by *thousands*, and *MILLIONS* !

SYSTEM is the very *regulator* of human actions, whereby REASON is enabled to govern our passions, by deliberately and wisely planning out the general course of our conduct, beforehand.

It does not, indeed, generally require one half the care and attention to manage our concerns, after they have been properly regulated or reduced to system.

A man without system in his habits and concerns in life, is like a ship at sea without ballast, compass, or rudder, liable to be *capsized* by every *gust* of passion, or to be thwarted or carried astray by the *tides*, *currents*, and attractions of fortune.

And yet, we should never be such slaves to rules, as to abide by them, when reason is clearly to the contrary.

Rules were intended as leading-strings for simpletons and shackles for rogues—but never should be permitted to cramp the genius of honest and enlightened minds.

Children have a natural desire to know the meaning of what

they see and hear about ; and, although their inquisitiveness is often troublesome, yet they should be answered correctly, or not at all; for, by deceiving them, bewilders and misleads their minds; but giving children correct ideas of things in the beginning, often determines their course and fortune through life, by setting them in a right way of reasoning and reflection.

Parents often forfeit the confidence and respect of their children, by attempting to trifle with, or impose on their credulity and tender years: and in other respects, they sometimes employ the most effectual means to make their children stupid, sickly, treacherous, or otherways troublesome.

For instance, a sugar-plum or some other unhealthy or foolish *knicknack*, is given to a child *to make peace*. Hence it becomes *a bounty for crying*.

"What are you *crying* for, Charles, you great booby?" says an older brother, "why mother never will give me any thing unless *I cry for it*," answers honest Charles.

"SALLY," said a too-indulgent mother, "*how many times must I tell you*, before you will leave off putting your hands into victuals set for other folks?"

"John, you rogue, you," said an unthinking mother, "if ever I catch you at that closet, *again*, stealing cake and sugar, I will *whip you*, AS SURE AS YOU LIVE"—"Why, no, you won't, mother," answered impertinent John, shrewdly, "FOR YOU HAVE TOLD ME SO ABOVE A THOUSAND TIMES!"

If parents would have their children regard the truth, they should observe it themselves. Nothing could scarcely teach children more effectually to *lie*, *steal*, and to be otherways troublesome, than such heedless and inconsistent conduct of parents.

Children have got better memories, and are more observing of passing events, than parents are apt to imagine.

As soon as children are capable of reasoning, (and that is earlier than is generally imagined,) they should be taught to ask, handsomely, for whatever they want, and reprov'd for crying without any reasonable or just cause.

Because the services of children are not needed, or their first efforts will not compensate for instructing and keeping them em-

ployed, a suitable portion of their time, they are too often left to contract habits of indolence and mischief.

It is obviously the wisest and best policy that ever dictated or controlled any government, from that of children up, to hold out some bounty for *extra* good deeds, and to cause some deprivation, or chastisement, for a wilful transgression, or neglect of common duty. It is also important, both in a moral and political point of view, to hold out a reasonable encouragement for evil doers to repent and reform. "He that stumbles and falls not, mends his pace"—and not unfrequently becomes a better citizen after, than before, a petty transgression.

After children come to years of sufficient discretion or understanding, to know right from wrong, they often *punish themselves* for mischievous or disobedient conduct, and particularly if the subject is properly managed. For instance, instead of pitying the child for some petty hurt or injury brought upon himself by carelessness, or a disregard of the directions and warnings of proper authority, let the child know that it was the natural consequence or result of his disobedience, or want of proper care and attention.

"Well, George, you have got *stung*—I told you the bees would sting you, if you went to plague them. I hope you will *remember* next time what your father tells you."

"That's good for you, Sam—I don't pity you a bit—it will do you as much good as if I had punished you, for meddling with the chickens: did not I tell you the old hen would hit you a *clip*, if you did not let her chickens alone?"

The human mind, in its infancy, is like a piece of uncultivated ground, varying in its local situation, fertility, and productive qualities, and each having in themselves the seeds or germs of good, and evil. If the good and useful plants are not cultivated, weeds and briars will occupy the soil, and ultimately root out the scions of virtue and usefulness.

Vice is of a rugged and savage character. When it gets full growth, and its rule established in the human mind, *reason* has but little or no influence with it.

Vice and ignorance, are generally at war with virtue and wis-

dom; and wherever the wild, ferocious impulse of human depravity gets possession, every amiable and excellent quality of the human character, are soon strangled or expelled.

Some people actually take more pains in bringing up and training brute animals, to be valuable and useful in society, than they do in the good breeding of their children. But the error chiefly originates from the lack of proper reflection or timely reasoning on the subject.

Remarks on the Education of Children, No. 2.

By endeavoring to impose on the minds of inquiring youth, bigoted and false ideas, parents, and teachers, not only violate a most sacred duty, but often bring themselves into contempt thereby; for whether the parent or instructor thus errs from ignorance or design, the youth, when once he discovers the deception, will very naturally withdraw his confidence from such parents and teachers, in a greater or less degree.

By cultivating the *reasoning* faculties of youth, by fair precepts and examples, excites their gratitude, and exalts their honor and understanding; but blinding and deceiving inquiring youth, provokes their worst passions, and often leads them to degradation and ruin.

It is often astonishing, and quite painful to a sensible and reflecting mind, to behold the miserable and worthless stuff that is thrown in the way of children, or purposely given out to young people disposed to read—tending to tire their patience and occupy their minds to no valuable purpose, or to bewilder their understandings, and corrupt their minds, and finally leave them misguided and discouraged in the pursuit of truth and human improvement: Instead of forming a judicious beginning, and lining out a course for their improvement and future excellence.

This early discouraging, or misguiding the minds of inquiring youth, often happens from the circumstance of the books having been *given* to the young learner, or *cost* little or nothing, or be-

cause they had *pictures* in or about them. The poison pill was *gilded*—this food for the mind *cost* but little or nothing, and therefore it may be taken, although in fact much worse than nothing. To say nothing of the absurd prejudices inculcated by the operation; it would be a waste of time and money, were we to instruct apprentices at the mechanic and manufacturing arts, agreeable to the rules, implements and operations employed in promoting those undertakings, fifty or an hundred years ago.

After people have learned the better way, or come of sufficient years of discretion to be able to judge and choose for themselves, error is comparatively harmless. But books that are not judiciously fitted to their wants and capacities, should not be given to young people, ever inquiring after truth and human improvements.

Wrong information is much worse than nothing.

Books or matter that is calculated to inculcate obsolete, bigoted, erroneous or useless ideas, are much worse than nothing, and better be *destroyed*, rather than kept to clog and distemper the minds of inquiring youth.

A prudent man, would not give any thing to his hogs or cattle, that would do them more hurt than good—even although it cost him nothing.

When the human mind is once set out right, in the pursuit of useful knowledge, it will often go alone, and is seldom or never tired, discouraged, or fully satisfied. The intellectual appetite and capacity, increases by judiciously feeding and exercising the mind.

It is a solemn and alarming fact, and one that ought to rouse the attention of our *common people*, that most of the books and other matter employed for their education and instruction, are the systems and designs of weak, or wicked men—those, who, from the want of sufficient talents, correct knowledge, and industry, were *incapable* of the task, or others, who, secretly and hypocritically devote themselves to promoting the ignorance, delusion, depravity and downfall of the common people.

There cannot be too much excitement, and alarm given out on the subject of educating and truly enlightening our common peo-

ple. I say our *common people*, for those in possession of extraordinary advantages of learning, wealth, or power—the natural aristocracy of a country, will hardly be expected to give a judicious republican education, and the light of proper intelligence and instruction, to those, over whom they already triumph, and expect to maintain an ascendancy.

Systems of Education.

OUR colleges and academies, or seminaries for promoting the highest branches of education, are chiefly governed by rules, regulations, and authorities, borrowed from the countries of monarchy, and designed for the support of kings and privileged orders of men. They are not only adverse to many of the clearest principles and habits of republicanism, but often prove injurious to the morals and health of the students.

A considerable part of the scholar's attention is devoted to the study of matter, that too often proves worse than a dead waste of his time and money, as they serve to burden and bewilder his senses, rather than enlighten his understanding truly, and guide him in the pursuit of truth and public usefulness.

Suppose we were to put those designed to learn the mechanic arts, to study and practice, according to the rules, implements and operations employed in promoting those undertakings, one or two thousand years ago; and then, after a few years instruction, apply them in our modern workshops—what would the thinking world say of such conduct?

The prejudices, policy and conduct, that were designed to aid and support monarchy, or to pamper and indulge aristocracy, should be promptly eradicated from our systems and habits of life.

Many of our young students, not only get their minds encumbered and distempered with the *dead* languages, and subjects of *ancient* literature, so that they have little room or taste for a correct knowledge of the *living* language, even of our own country, and a thorough and practical understanding of *modern* sciences

and improvements ; but they too generally get their understandings bewildered and poisoned by the prejudices and hypocritical arts of king-craft and its subordinate agencies. The worst of this, however, is their afterwards insulting and bothering the public with their blind lingo and ancient learning.*

Those who have exchanged the open air, plain, solid food, prudent dress, industrious and athletic habits of a country life, for the sedentary situation and mode of life, of a college student, most generally contract a hatred for honest industry, and a contempt for those who *earn* their living by it ; besides, they too often pine and languish for the solid food and manly exercise of a country life, and spend their chief vigor in doing mischief.

Here, too, the students get their aristocratic ideas, and habits ; that often keep them hankering after the privileges and pensions, conferred by arbitrary authorities on their favorites and tools.

To prevent these habits and their pernicious consequences, and to create a love of industry, and a due respect for those who *earn* their living by honest labor ; a certain proportion of the students' time should be regularly applied to some useful bodily labor, in practising farming and mechanical operations.

To accommodate which, there ought to be attached to every college, academy, or establishment for promoting the higher branches of education, an EXPERIMENTAL FARM, and an extensive MECHANICS' WORK SHOP, with every material and convenience necessary to employ the students a certain part of their time, at set hours, and in convenient seasons, in practising farming, and some of the most useful and convenient mechanic arts and operations. They should practice both, occasionally, at convenient times and seasons, under the care and instruction of competent and judicious teachers of the different branches.

Such kinds of farming operations, as might be conveniently

* Something like a man who had spent several years in acquiring the art of walking *backwards*, which he represented as *preferable* to the common way of walking. In order to show his superiority over his neighbours in this art, or rare *accomplishment*, he took occasion to introduce the subject frequently—and generally to their no small disgust and annoyance.

carried on upon a middling or small scale, and as would be of most general use, in affording the students proper exercise, and instruction in the most general and important branches of farming:—including the cultivation of common fruit, plain gardening; with the raising of domestic animals; together with *a prudent and wise regulation and management of our domestic and private concerns.*

The students should be taught the different situations, characters and qualities of soil, and how to cultivate and manage the same, to the best advantage; the good and bad qualities of domestic animals, so as to distinguish, and raise them to the most useful purpose.* In fine, the students should be experimentally taught the science of good practical husbandry, upon a finished scale.

The mechanic arts and operations selected for the students' exercise and instruction, should be those kinds and branches that would afford them the most appropriate and convenient employment, in stormy weather, and in the winter season. They should also be active, healthy kinds of mechanical employments, and such as were of general use.

In their mechanical labors, the students might perform the chief part of the labor of building, and keeping in repair, workshops and other buildings for their own use and accommodation. They might also do the principal making and repairing of many of the tools for their mechanical and farming operations; with other articles of furniture and domestic usefulness.

The students might raise the chief part of the provisions for their own supply; and get their own wood. They should always prepare their wood, and make their own fires; brush their own boots and shoes; shave themselves, and keep their own persons, and apartments, in complete order; and be taught to perform all these operations in the best manner.

* It is a fact worthy of universal attention, that it generally costs as much to raise vegetables from *bad seed*, and to feed and raise animals from a *bad breed*, as it does from good ones—the original stock only excepted: although the value of the product, often varies, immensely, in their actual worth.

The man who has learned to select the materials, keep them in order, and *shave himself*, in a good and workman-like manner, has made no trifling acquisition to his comfort, convenience, and *independence*.

Good manners, fit and becoming a **REPUBLICAN GENTLEMAN**, should always be inculcated and enforced in such institutions, as far as practicable and reasonable.

The general principles of *good morals*; and the theory and practice relating to *health*, should be judiciously explained and inculcated among the students.

The students should early be taught a degree of political science, and economy, especially the general principles of our republican system; and I think it would be well to have them form a jury, or arbitration, as occasion might require, for the trial of their fellow students, for offences against the rules and regulations of their school, or college, or for violations of good conduct in any respect, subject to the interpretation, correction and final control of proper authorities.

At a proper period of their studies, the students should receive written or printed lectures or explanations, from competent teachers, on the various farming and mechanical operations they practice, giving the *reasons* for their preference; including a system of domestic economy, and the best private habits and management of individual concerns. These would not only afford the scholars constant guide and instruction, but they would excite *improvement* in every essential branch and particular.

Students, and all in sedentary employments, should be taught, and accustomed to sit with their bodies as straight as possible—rather leaning back, than forward, so as not to *cramp* the stomach, or *depress* the digestive and vital organs and operations. A chair with *rockers*, leaning *backwards*, is peculiarly well calculated to ease and accommodate persons in habits of reading or study, by facilitating a change of position, and throwing the head and shoulders back. By getting up and walking only across a room, a few moments, every hour or oftener, has a tendency to promote and *equalize* the general circulations that renovate the body and mind.

Our college students, have generally contracted an effeminacy of character, and a contempt or hatred for military duty. This has been aided and encouraged, in many places, by an indulgence, or system of *favoritism*, tending to boost them out of the reach of the chief burdens of military duty, by some short and delicate part—an easy and honorable appointment in the staff, or some office of civil authority or exemption from military duty. This is the chief cause that has rendered military duty irksome, and filled most of our military offices with ignorant and unmilitary characters. The fault is not generally with the *rank* and *file*, for I never would elevate a man over me, who despised the common defenders of my country. The blame chiefly rests with our colleges and government. They never should nurse or indulge *privilegd* orders.

When the nerves or muscles are tender, and the mind ardent, a degree of military exercise and instruction, gives a young man a prompt, efficient and manly habit—a correct attitude of body, a graceful motion, and a sense of patriotism and human excellence—in a word, a deportment and feeling that properly belongs to the scholar and gentleman, as necessary accomplishments, and especially those who are qualifying themselves for places of distinction and high trust.

A degree of military science and practice,* judiciously introduced and cultivated among our college and academical students, would contribute to their general health, as well as usefulness and eminence.

There was a military spirit inculcated among the students of Dartmouth college, some time the latter part of the last century, that, although injudicious, in a degree, has been productive of some important consequences.

For a length of time, at least, it will be necessary to keep up a prompt and efficient military spirit, in some shape or other, among our youth, and especially those qualifying themselves for distinction in the support of our national liberty and independence.

There is a spirit, in a truly *republican soldier*, that justly excites the admiration of every liberal and enlightened mind. Who indeed is there, worthy of the name of good and great, that does

not admire the character of WASHINGTON, LAFAYETTE, BOLIVAR, RIEGO, and the thousands that have volunteered in the general cause of justice and humanity.

Such a system of education, judiciously established and promoted, would not only preserve, but greatly *improve* the students' health, morals and habits of life, and at the same time afford him much more suitable, substantial and useful information, than they usually acquire at our colleges; and ultimately prepare them for the highest stations of public usefulness and eminence. Our college learned men would then be real men of business, possessed of a *practical* knowledge of some of the most important transactions and concerns in the community.

Many of the speeches, and other pieces selected for the instruction and improvement of scholars, and particularly in their public declamations and exercises, are, in their general style of language and magnitude of subject, as much above the learning and capacity of the young student, as a giant's armour and equipage would be beyond the size and strength of a pigmy.

Hence we may not wonder at many of the empty, gasconading, *dandy-like* characters, that have "been through college"—mighty in sounds and imaginary worth, but feeble in practical and useful knowledge.

Education, in order to be consistent, and useful, should, like a well proportioned tree, spring up from the centre, form the main body and limbs, and then increase in magnitude, height, number and extent of branches, as the natural strength of the plant, and fertility of soil, will support.

The first inquiries of youth, should be directed to matters suitable to their wants, and capacity to comprehend.

The youth should always endeavor to acquire, at least a general history and knowledge of his own country, before that of any other. And modern history and science should be taught before ancient.

The ancient custom of teaching morals by fabulous stories, wherein *brutes* are represented as the principal agents of intelligence, is absurd and pernicious, since real examples, and human characters, are sufficiently abundant, and can be much better em-

ployed for that purpose. It is not only difficult for children of common judgment and reflection to reconcile such stories with truth, or to draw moral or practical conclusions from them, without the powers of *second sight*, as it were ; but their minds often labour under a degree of delusion for a considerable time after, occasioned by the study of those fabulous subjects. We impose on the credulity and tender minds of children, false and ridiculous stories about the *talking* and other wonderful performances of brutes, and then leave them to get rid of the delusion, as they can. This is what some call playing the *devil* with children.

Neither should fictitious cases be employed for the exercise and instruction of scholars in arithmetic.

It is also important that the forms of business, and instruments of writing, selected for copies and practice, should be of the most approved in modern use.

In this way the students would acquire a history of many *real* and important subjects ; and be finally taught to love and respect truth, virtue and human excellence, and to honour and reward industry and usefulness, both by precept and example.

Regular and manly exercise, preserves and extends the health and vigor, of the body and mind.

The human mind effeminates and becomes debilitated, and often highly *diseased*, merely from the want of proper exercise of the body.

When the mind gets *set*, or unable to proceed in its intellectual labours, a judicious exercise of the body, generally affords relief, by enforcing and *equalizing* the circulation of the animal and vital fluids, and thereby recruiting and renovating the energies of the body and mind.

One young man, judiciously brought up and educated in this way, would be worth a dozen of those effeminate, lazy, labor-hating, ungrateful, haughty, hypocritical and worthless characters, often produced by our colleges ; and let loose to get a living in society. Perhaps to cheat some honest female, by their fictitious acquirements and worth, and get a fortune by *marriage* ; or by their obscure language, and other hypocritical and juggling arts and designs, complex, garnish over and manage some profes-

sional policy, and take the advantage of their fellow beings, in the practice of *school-craft*, *priest-craft*, *law-craft*, *medical-craft*, *literary-craft*, or any of the family or subordinates of KING-CRAFT ; or in office-seeking, or other speculations and trespasses on the rights and happiness of others.

The *competition* between our numerous college establishments and other seminaries for instruction, many of which are now getting into operation, will, it is hoped, ultimately IMPROVE the *matter* and *manner* of education, and render them more consistent with our interests, habits and republican character.

College Learning.

The rules, regulations and authorities, that chiefly guide and control a *college education*, have a tendency against the general cause of truth, justice and humanity—by prejudicing the minds, corrupting the morals, and effeminating the habits of their students ; and finally excite and aid men, so interested, instructed and accustomed, in devising and employing hypocritical and base arts and designs, to degrade, rob and oppress the common people.

Our colleges, have, indeed, too generally been schools of *privileged orders*—nurseries of aristocratic pride, habits, ideas and interests.

College learned men, for the most part, combine their knowledge and talents, to bind up the light of Heaven and Earth in *obscure language*—to render a knowledge of the arts and sciences, tedious, and expensive, in order to exclude their light and benefit from the common people, and to secure to themselves *undue advantages*.

Spain, probably has more colleges and college learned men, in proportion to her numbers, than any other nation ; and who, under “ his *most catholic* majesty,” are the chief impostors and tyrants of that degraded and unhappy country.

Who, in fact, but those who have been *most* indulged with ed-

education and other advantages, are the most base tyrants and imposers of the old world.

Learning, is POWER ; and extra learning or knowledge, is extra power. Why, then, should we give this *extra power*, indiscriminately to any one, without knowing their disposition.

Those who have proved themselves the best friends and benefactors of mankind, seldom have been educated and brought up at college.

CHRISTIANITY—which teaches mankind, among other excellent things, to *do unto others as we would that men should do unto us*, owes its origin, and the progress of its just, humane and benevolent principles, mostly to men who were not reared or educated at college—who had no uncommon interests, learning or advantages, over their fellow men.

Witness also the first charter of CIVILIZED RIGHTS, which declares, among other things, that all men are *born free*, and *equal*—entitled to certain unalienable rights, to it, freedom, and the pursuit of happiness.

And so indeed are the most important improvements that have actually been made in the great cause of justice and humanity, mostly indebted for their origin and chief impulse, to men who were not educated or bred at college—or even indulged any way with extraordinary privileges over their fellow men. It is quite an extraordinary occurrence, for those who possess considerable advantages over their fellow men, to befriend the cause of *equal justice*.

William Penn, Franklin, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Washington, Jefferson, Roger Sherman, generals *Greene, Putnam, Jackson*, with *Rittenhouse, Fulton*, and a host of our greatest and best friends and benefactors, were not brought up and educated at college.

Watt, Arkwright, and *Wedgewood*, three mechanics, of England, have rendered more important services to their country, than probably most or all of their college learned men together, for the period of their active existence.

Republican Encyclopedia.

THERE is a great want, in this country, of a truly REPUBLICAN ENCYCLOPEDIA—a kind of *universal dictionary*—a publication giving a brief and explicit general explanation and account of the proper *meaning* of all the important words in common use, as they concern us in general, relating to history, geography, statisticks, biography, the arts, sciences, and human improvements. There should be nothing in it only what is of importance and general use, and given in our own language; all alphabetically arranged under proper and intelligent heads, with plates or prints illustrative of the most necessary and important subjects, that could not be sufficiently described without their aid.

The *New Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, republishing in this country, is a valuable and important work of the kind. The main substance of the matter has been *re-written*, abridged, and generally given in good language. Yet there is a considerable part in *latin*, and much more that is objectionable, or worse than useless to common readers, as it greatly increases the expense of the work, detains its publication, and encumbers the volumes, to no manner of use, to at least ninety and nine hundredths of the people of this country in pursuit of general knowledge. It is calculated for men of *extra* wealth and learning—the natural aristocracy of a country. The volumes are much too large for common use, and for admission into ordinary bookcases. Besides, there is a great deal too much matter concerning *foreign* countries, and nothing nigh enough relating to the history, geography, statisticks, biography, arts, sciences and improvements of *our own* country. In short, the New Edinburgh Encyclopedia is mainly *aristocratic*, and *foreign*; we want an Encyclopedia that is *domestic* in its matter and usefulness, and *republican* in form and manner.

The publication should be undertaken by a number of persons associated in the general concern, one at least of whom should reside in every considerable state or section of our country, who should take upon himself the disposal of a certain number of copies, and to procure and furnish for printing, the original mat-

ter necessary for the publication, relating particularly to his district or section of the concern.

The work should be printed at some central and convenient place in our country, and conducted by an able and well qualified editor, with a number of assistants.

There would probably be from six to eight volumes, of about the size of the *English and Classical Dictionary*, published at Burlington, N. J. in 1813. Or the volumes might be smaller and more numerous.

More than three-fourths of the prints contained in the N. Edinburgh Encyclopedia, are useless to common readers; and many of the rest might be abridged and simplified; and most of these might be executed by wood cuts, and printed off typographically along with the main letter work. This alone would make an immense saving in the time and expense of execution.

There should be no prints bound in the volume over the size of two leaves. Maps, if larger, should be printed on strong bank-paper, and used in an atlas, with a limber paper cover.

The volume should be completed, *bound*, and all the prints in their *places*, ready for immediate use, when the books are delivered.

Two volumes might be completed in a year; and from ten to fifty thousand sets would meet with ready subscription or sale, if the publication is properly taken hold of and conducted, or sufficient assurances are given for the faithful performance of the work.

Probably it might be afforded at from five to six dollars a volume, if of the largest size proposed, and proportionably less for a smaller size.

Such a work would admit of constant improvement, from new matter alone; and the utility and importance of the publication, would justify the belief, that a new edition might be immediately commenced, as soon as the original was completed, and *so on*, a third, fourth, &c.

Such a publication would be most admirably calculated to collect, digest, concentrate, and diffuse throughout this extensive nation, a *general* knowledge of the world, and particularly of the

history, geography, statisticks, biography, the arts, sciences, and improvements, of our own time, and country.

The several volumes of this publication would constitute a library, as it were, *of themselves*, for common readers. And one the most perfectly adapted to their general wants, circumstances, and convenience, giving a brief general explanation and description of all the most necessary, interesting and important subjects of history and general science ; arranged under their proper heads, with references at the close of every extensive subject, to the principal authors or books that treat further on the same ; so that, if the reader desires further information on any particular subject, he is directed where to find it.

Subjects of general importance to the common people, would be detailed the most minutely, and others of less consequence more briefly noticed, and so on in proportion to their general utility and the public wants.

The people of this country generally, and particularly those of a common school education, and those in middling circumstances, are most in want of such a publication ; where they can readily turn, in their leisure moments, when any circumstance or idea occurs on which they want to make enquiries, in regard to history or general science. By such a course of reading and reflection, their minds would be constantly acquiring the most valuable and desirable information, in the most effectual way to retain it, and at the least trouble, expense, and loss of time.

The *book-making-craft*—those who wish to *spin out* every subject to its greatest possible length ; those who have got large stocks of obsolete, useless or unsaleable books on hand—heaps of stuff often not worth culling, or storage ; and those whose interest or policy devotes them to the promotion of complex, obscure and expensive systems of education : and in fact, all who are any way against employing the best means for instructing and enlightening the common people, will feel interested in opposing the publication and sale of a truly *Republican Encyclopedia*. It may therefore be of some importance to bear these hints in mind.

Craft.

MEN often employ little subtleties and artifices, to deceive and rob, or enslave their fellow beings, quite similar to those used by fishermen, trappers, and hunters, to decoy and take wild game or animals of the *brute* kind. For instance—

Lottery brokers, *bait* with a few capital prizes, pompously figured out on hand bills, containing flattering and deceptive accounts of the “scheme;” perhaps the *lucky* character of the office at which the tickets are offered for sale! and other hypocritical allurements to induce the purchasers of tickets to expect a final gain! and then *hook* their silly and deluded customers, with fictitious advances on the price of tickets, myriads of blanks, and a good round discount on the amount of prizes. Some lotteries have been managed to *cheat* in the drawing, and actual result of prizes; and in some *failures* have taken place, so that the amount of prizes drawn, never were paid.

Quack doctors and hypocritical nostrum venders, *bait* with their pretended remedies and cure-alls, and then *hook* you with, perhaps increased illness, or confirmed debility, or disease. At any rate, they are pretty sure to get their customer's money without giving them an equivalent of equal value in return.

Venders of deceitful made wares, or articles of fictitious value, often lure and take in their customers, with as much deceitfulness, as fishermen employ, when they angle and take their game with an *artificial* fly.

Banks, and brokers, often bait and decoy people into their power and confidence, with *accommodation* discounts, when money is plenty, and when it becomes scarce, hawl in and take their customers in the *snares* of debt, vexation, and bankruptcy. Some banking companies—by displaying heaps of gold and silver on their counters, and by other manifestations of promptness and ability, have obtained a valuable currency for their *pretty little pictures*, and even induced people to deposite their money with them for safe keeping; and some, by fictitious representations, or pretended profits, have obtained a *premium* on the amount and

sale of their capital stock, and then managed to *take* the multitude of their confidants, in the *trap* of their specieless vaults, absconding integrity and responsibility.

Grog-shops, are a kind of *squat traps*, where old sottish block-heads miserably squander their time and money, and at the same time serve as a kind of *hoverers*, or *decoys*, to entice silly boys and other simpletons, to creep in and get their *pates squashed*, with confirmed indolence, intemperance, poverty, disease, debt, and perhaps crimes.*

Prisons are often a kind of *wire-trap*, to those who foolishly run in debt, or treacherously pursue some object or impulse of evil temptation, and ultimately find themselves brought up and confined where they can *look through*, and see others *outside* the trap enjoying their liberty.

Men sometimes unite to obstruct, or monopolize, the natural and fair course of things, and glide people into their power, as fishermen build *weirs* across rivers to turn the fish into their pots and pounds.

Tyrants and men in arms, often frighten people into the *snare*s of slavery; or take their persons and property by *force*, as fishermen sweep and take their game with *scoop-nets* and *seines*.

Unprincipled and designing priests, and lawyers, study to fix their puzzling "*mysteries*," and perplexing and vexations "*uncertainties*," to entangle and rob those in pursuit of political *justice*, and divine *happiness*, with as much art and diligence, as spiders employ to make their webs and entangle the flies and

* A person complaining of grog-shops, (in their usual loose and unguarded condition,) as the *hot beds* of indolence, vice, and poverty—the real nurseries of human misery and degradation, was called to account for his formerly having been an advocate for unbounded licenses to grog shops; when he explained and said, that at the time they referred to, he was practising law, and expected the chief part of his business and gains—from the improvident debts, quarrels, crimes—deeds of ignorance, want and depravity generally that originate in grog-shops: But *now*, he had done with the practice of law, and grog-shops only increased his insecurity, and burden of taxes, in common with others in society. And, therefore, he did, most sincerely desire the decrease, and rigid restriction of, *grog-shops*.

other weak insects, in their passages and other inviting places of resort.

Lewd and other unprincipled seducers, *bait* and *decoy* unsuspecting virtue and innocence into their power and confidence, by false flattery, professed friendship, and apparent generosity.

There is a method of hunting partridges, or pheasants, as some call them, by starting them up in the woods, on to the middle or under limbs of trees, by a *little yelping* dog, whose threatening and harmless blustering, engages the attention of the bird, while the huntsman deliberately approaches, unobserved, or unheeded, chooses his position and makes the fatal explosion.

How many *little yelpers* do we often see striving to attract and pervert the peoples' attention, while some fatal adversary of the republic is choosing his position and taking deliberate aim at our national virtue, liberty, independence and prosperity?

Some of our knavish and hypocritical politicians, have laboured to fix the public attention on some distant or harmless object, while they approached and secured *their* game: at one time, the haughty and corrupt tyrants of the old world, were just a going to swim over and *devour* the republic! at another time the *little yelpers* of our own country, were the particular objects of terror and watchfulness—they seemed to say, "Look at the overgrown tyrants of the old world—see how they *devour* the common people! watch their *scenting! growling! crouching! and leaping!* Watch the *little yelpers* of our own country—see they don't *tear you in pieces!* or *swallow up* your liberties like a volcano! But don't trouble yourselves about us—we men of *honour—the people's friends*; LET US ALONE, and we can do well enough!"

Every enlightened and observing republican of America, will readily perceive that we have but little to apprehend from external foes, or the *little yelpers* of our own country; while the INTERNAL enemies of our republican virtue, independence and prosperity, can hardly be too closely watched and guarded. Those men (professedly) without guile or evil intentions, whose *purring* language lulls to sleep, while their actions silently prey upon the very *vitals* of the republic, like a cancer nigh the heart.

Look in the *dark* and *crooked* avenues that lead to public pow-

er, confidence and favor; overhaul the treasure¹ in the public vault—count the cash and examine the tellers' entries; enter the steward's apartment and see who makes merry with the public stores: reconnoitre the sentinels on duty, and particularly at the silent hours of the watch; eye the public servants—see how much time they waste in indolence, or neglect of their duties—in *juggling* for places, contracts, and favours, for themselves, families, connexions and favorites, and in useless or mischievous *quibbling*, or gabbling to the hindrance of themselves and others: see that all in the public service *earn* their wages, and that no one *unprofitable* servant is retained in the public employ.

These are the places to search for the worst *enemies* of the republic.

If we observe them faithfully, shall we not find public *swindlers*—men who have got, or retained possession of the public funds, under an unnecessary, quibbling or false pretext, and then strove to retain, or defeat a recovery, or return of the same? *sinécures*—men quietly enjoying the fat emoluments and perquisites of office, without performing the duties thereof? men of *desperate* fortunes and characters, successfully seeking public offices, contracts and favors? legislators, and others employed to devise, and execute, the best possible measures for the public relief, benefit, and future welfare, seeking places, contracts, and favors for themselves, families, friends, or confederates in an unequal and unjust policy? Public servants quibbling away their time, or studiously increasing, or prolonging, the public burdens and distress, to favor their own professional gains, and private speculations? public sentinels bribed, or asleep on their stations, while the enemy are in sight, surrounding the citadel of our national liberty, independence and prosperity—by corrupting our habits, manners and policy? misdirecting, or defeating the best application of the talents, capital, and enterprize of our country?

Craft studies to make *game* of fellow-beings—to *spoil* on human virtue, industry and merit.

Conversation between a Lawyer, a Farmer, and a Mechanic, respecting the Formation of a State Constitution.

THE *lawyer* said, that he would have a clause incorporated in the constitution, expressly to prohibit *priests*, or religious preachers of any grade, sect or denomination, from holding offices, and particularly to have them excluded from being members of the legislature. He said they were generally a set of metaphysical, visionary, bigoted *talkers*; whose learning and attention was chiefly confined to spiritual matters, or schemes of religious faith; and that they were so little in the habit of dealing in realities, and of being confronted in their declamations and arguments, that it would be difficult to reason with them, and particularly on matters that concern the state.

Although they generally profess to consider mankind as sinners, or corrupt in nature; they are often so good themselves, in their own estimation, that he feared there would be no such thing as long living with them in peace. In a legislative body, priests would expect a deference or kind of homage paid to them, and their opinions; and would probably be for wasting a good deal of the public time in useless gabble and ceremonies.—

They already claim mankind as their *flocks*; but, continued the lawyer, once admit the priests of this country to become law-givers, and how long before they would be for *shearing* and other-ways appropriating the fatlings of their flocks—or in other words, be using their power and influence for their own peculiar benefit? Probably their efforts would be directed to exempt their own persons and property from all taxes and public burdens; to have permanent funds, and fixed salaries provided for their accommodation and support through life; to have the ruling clergy, or a standing order, as a body, invested with the superintendence and control of schools, colleges, and matters of education generally; and finally to have all christening, marrying, and funeral rites and ceremonies, subject to their order and control, as an established priesthood. And how long, concluded the lawyer, would it be, after priests were permitted to legislate and mingle in the affairs

of state, before we should have hardly liberty enough left to be worth contending for?

The *farmer*, said, that one of our country's earliest benefactors, and greatest statesmen, (William Penn,) although perhaps never strictly a licensed preacher, ordained or settled salary clergyman, had been, he understood, a religious preacher. The late Joel Barlow, he understood, was educated to the pulpit; and many other of our best statesmen were clergymen or religious teachers, for a period of their lives. If the people were disposed, once in a while to send a priest or religious teacher to represent their concerns in the public legislature, he could see no reason sufficient to prevent it. Let every profession, said the farmer, be duly represented in the public concerns. This he thought not only just and reasonable, but absolutely necessary for the preservation of our equal rights and liberties. We admit, said he, *doctors*, and *lawyers*—the latter sometimes by the DOZEN, into the legislature, and allow, or rather we do not prevent them, as yet, from helping themselves to the principal offices of state; each of which professions have their peculiar prejudices, habits, interests and policy to rule them: He said, perhaps lawyers would like to have the legislative and other public *talking* pretty much under the control of those of their own quibbling profession. No doubt, continued the farmer, lawyers would be glad to secure all the fattest offices to themselves, and those of their own crooked *craft*, and policy; and to have it so that none but regular bred *lawyers* could debate, or act any important part in legislation; draught a bill for a public act, draw a writ, or other legal instrument of writing, or perform the duties required in any considerable legislative, judicial, or executive office or capacity. After this, concluded the farmer, how much would our privileges be worth!

Doctors, said the *mechanic*, have some professional perquisites and privileges to seek for, as well as the other two *learned* professions, so called. Perhaps their policy would lead them to desire laws enacted to secure to regular bred and licensed physicians, the exclusive privilege of practising medicine, surgery, and midwifery; and to have the sole control of compounding, and of selling medicine.

If these three professions, (priests, lawyers and doctors,) should *unite* to effect their policy and purposes, and govern us, what would be the condition of farmers and mechanics! Let us, then, concluded the mechanic, see to it, and mind that NONE are permitted to indulge in the establishment, or practice of, a partial or destructive *league, craft* or policy!

Literary Craft.

IN the various little arts and efforts employed to obscure light—to embarrass the progress of truth and reason; and to render education unnecessarily tedious, and expensive; there is nothing, perhaps, more deserving of attention, at this time, and in this country, than the use which is frequently made of the *dead*, and *foreign* languages, in *communications to the public*.—For instance, what is more unnecessary, or absurd, than to mingle paragraphs or sentences of the *foreign* or *dead* languages, in verbal or written communications to the public, when not one person in a hundred generally understands them? How provoking it is, when reading a book or publication in our own native language, to find parts or passages totally excluded from our understanding—perhaps the very *knob* of a story, or *pith* of the subject, is given in *Latin*, *French*, or some other foreign or dead language, which not one person in a hundred generally understands; and which fact must have been known to the author or publisher, in this country.

It would be considered very insolent, in a person who should address a large number in a language which he knew not more than one in a hundred of them understood, and especially when he was able to communicate in their own native tongue. And yet the people of this country receive such insults every day, and from those characters, too, who claim to be the very *patrons* of consistency and good breeding, in their verbal and written communications to the public.

Can any thing be more absurd, than for an enlightened and free people, to have the very mottoes of their national and state

arms, (which every body ought to understand,) in *latin*, or some other obscure and blind language.

The same blind and hypocritical *craft* is manifested in the *designs* of many of our paintings, engravings, and sculptures. Instead of representing things truly, *as they are*, by figures and characters intelligent to the common understanding, they often require *classical* learning—or a kind of *second sight*, to enable a person to interpret and understand their meaning.

The motto in the state arms of *Pennsylvania*, is in our own native language, so that every body can generally understand it. This is as it should be.

There is no serious objection to individuals learning as many different languages as they please, provided they study *at their own expense*, and do not insult or bother *the public* with their blind lingo.

If there is any thing found in the foreign or dead languages, worthy of general attention, let it be *translated*, and the meaning faithfully given in our own language; but, if nothing else will guard us from the insolence and impositions affected by this absurd use of blind language, I should hope there might be a *law* established for the purpose.

If an author or individual wishes to give the public a hint of his having had *college learning*, or to excite a *vast* idea of his *classical* or literary acquirements, beyond what is manifested by the real matter or merits of his productions, let him put on *his mark*:—For instance, if an author or individual had studied the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, he would be entitled to attach to his name, H. G. L. and if he knew the French, or any other foreign language, or wished to convey an idea of his extra attainments in any other branch of learning, by just adding to his name or title, the first letter of each subject, would enable him to accomplish the object, without introducing any metaphysical reasoning, sophistry, or blind lingo, into the matter of his communications. Then, if an author had studied the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, and had laboured in the metaphysics, and was master of sophistry, or the art of *juggling* with letters and words, he could attach to his name, H. G. L. M. S. J. And, in order to render

the matter the more intricate and learned, the letters might be arranged *backwards*, or placed bottom upwards. This would puzzle the vulgar, and give them a *prodigious* idea of the learning and elevation of the author, and save them the time and trouble of examining into the truth and soundness of his assertions !

If our shoe-makers and tailors were to make out their bills in the *dead* or *foreign* languages, it would be pretty much the same as the cases referred to. We should all be obliged to learn those languages, or hazard our chance of being insulted and imposed upon.

A memorandum in *latin*, was presented at an apothecary's shop for several articles of drugs and medicines, with a request that the bill might be made out in English, so that they might *all* understand it—the person who was a going to pay for, and use the drugs and medicines, as well as the doctor who prescribed and made out the memorandum, and the apothecary who sold the articles.

Those who have spent considerable time and money in learning the *dead* languages, with an expectation of deriving an advantage from teaching or interpreting the same to others, or by obscuring and the better managing some *learned craft*, or blind hypocritical policy, contend for their utility and importance ; and say that their real *beauties* and descriptive powers are lost by translation, and that, subjects of ancient literature must be studied in their original tongue, in order to be duly understood and appreciated.

This puts me in mind of a story. A traveller got out of money on a journey, and had recourse to the stratagem of exhibiting his horse to replenish his purse. He procured a tight stable, tied his starving horse with his *tail* to a manger full of hay, and gave out notice that he had got a wonderful horse there to show—his **TAIL** was where his **HEAD** SHOULD BE ! The marvellous flocked to the exhibition. The traveller, cautiously admitted in but one at a time. The first, finding himself caught, resolved not to be laughed at alone, and so expressed himself highly gratified and pleased with the show ; the second, taking the hint, also said he had fully received his money's worth ; the third, taking the same hint, said he did not grudge his money for the sight ; the fourth, fifth,

sixth, and so on, continued seemingly resolved to have as much *company* as possible, in order to leave but few out of the trap to get the laugh upon them. Impatient at the slow manner of admitting visitors, some began to inquire very earnestly of those who had been in, something about the wonderful animal; but they said it would be folly in them, even to *attempt* a description—every one must go in and *see for themselves*, in order to understand and duly appreciate the novelty and interest of the exhibition.

In order to bewilder the senses, waste the time, and misdirect the inquiries and energies of the common people, men of the *learned craft*, often set up, or treat as important, some visionary, useless or mischievous scheme, project or undertaking. A few conspicuous examples of this policy and conduct, have lately been publicly exhibited, in our own country. Redheffer's pretended demonstration of *perpetual* motion, was held out as a matter of fact, for a considerable length of time—although every practical man, well informed on the subject, must have known that the thing was utterly *impossible*. At another time, Capt. Symmes's visionary and useless theory of, and pretended expedition to, an *interior world*, has been caught hold of and treated as a serious and important matter. And at another time, a plan for *flying*, was brought before congress, as a subject of actual and national importance.*

The leaders of such tricks and impositions on the public, ought to be sent to our state prisons, tread-mills, workhouses, or insane hospitals.

While men of learning seem to think it *pretty* to play the devil with mankind, we must not be surprised at any thing—but be well upon our guard.

While men of this *craft* aid and encourage, on the one hand, such visionary, useless and mischievous projects, on the other hand, they are generally the foes of practical, useful and important improvements and undertakings.

Much of what is now peculiarly denominated *literary* mat-

* The *pretended* automaton chess player, is another, and late fashionable humbug, or cheat.

ter, is the most simpering, insipid and *useless* stuff that comes from the press ; and seems peculiarly calculated to make *literary fools*.

Old Family Compacts.

TIME, and policy, have a general tendency to unite wealthy and influential families and individuals, in matrimonial and other connexions or *compacts* : and, where their policy and designs are not watched and guarded against, by vigilant and effectual measures, they eventually assume the unjust and oppressive consequences of a privileged order, or *organized aristocracy* ; and not unfrequently supersede the power of regular government. This is peculiarly the case with old countries.

In some parts of the United States, these leagues, or *aristocratic combinations*, with their tools and underlings, have already assumed a degree of power and influence, that sets common justice at defiance. It is highly alarming to the best interests of our country, and calls loudly for some powerful and efficient measures of restraint and correction.

When, and wherever such combinations attempt to erect themselves into force, and especially to interfere and prevent a free and full exercise of the laws, in favor of an individual ; or unite to pervert the laws, to persecute or any way wrong an individual ; or in any way *conspire* to interrupt his peace, or to annoy his person, pursuits or happiness, from unnecessary or unwarrantable motives, the offence should be punished with an ample penalty, and by *practical means*. In all cases, when such combinations attempt to exercise their influence or other means, against an individual, in any public controversy or legal process, the fact should be noticed, in order that a due allowance might be made for the extra power and influence, of such combination.

It is, indeed, the *duty* of every friend to justice and humanity, and especially all who profess to maintain the boon of *equal justice to all men*, to COUNTERACT, by every just and reasonable effort

in their power, the policy and conduct of such old family combinations—check their unjust and baneful influence, and policy, at once, and deter others from ever attempting the like, again.

Unless some powerful and efficient measures are soon put in operation, to defeat and destroy this *germ* of ancient despotism, individuals will be unable to maintain their rights and privileges against them.

Systems of Religion.

CREEDS, or systems of religion, are mainly the speculative works of human contrivance, like other inventions. To devise some scheme that would look plausible, and finally enable the chief projectors and managers to realize an object or advantage—to gain an ascendancy and maintain a controlling power over their fellow-beings, has generally been the ruling policy or motive of creed makers. The Bible is the store from which they select the chief materials for forming their various theories: and from which, in fact, every man of an independent mind, generally forms or regulates, more or less, *his own creed*, or religious faith.

Papistry, or the doctrine of the Roman church, was evidently designed to facilitate a despotic government and control over mankind—whereby the *creature* might assume to himself, the homage which is due, only to the CREATOR.

Calvinism, although calculated to abate the extreme despotism and corruption of the papal creed and authority, was nevertheless made subservient to the leading policy and designs of kingcraft. The author's ideas of *pre-election* and *sovereign grace*, and of the total depravity and unworthiness of the creature to merit any thing of *himself*, are striking samples of king-craft, or *legitimacy*.

The author of this scheme, John Calvin, was bred a *lawyer*; and no doubt saw how to combine church and state policy, under a hypocritical and puzzling scheme, for the particular benefit of the *few*. Had Calvin possessed the feeling and character of a true Christian, he certainly would never have consented to, much

less have caused the cruel and relentless death of Servetus, for a mere difference of opinion.

The *Trinitarian*, or Church of England creed—which holds out the idea of *three heads to one body*, is so much like the British *political* system, that I cannot help regarding them both as work of the same craft. There is the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghost*, (comprising what they term their *spiritual* head,) and the *king*, the *nobles*, and the *people*, (called their *temporal* head,) all artfully and systematically combined in one, complex and puzzling scheme of *church and state* government. The king, I believe, claims to be the *head* of this church and state sovereignty—although often a more *un-christianlike* character could hardly be found in the empire.

Papistry, has usurped the *sovereignty* of Heaven and hell, and placed the keys under the control of fallible mortal beings.

Calvinism, has *fixed* the fate of every human being, independent of their actions—merits or demerits—even before they were *born*, and thereby destroyed the motives for exertion to obtain future happiness by *good works*.

Although the inventors and advocates of these creeds, or schemes of church policy, often quarrel, stoutly, about their comparative merits and consistencies, yet it would be difficult to find any thing like CHRISTIANITY, in either :—the first, places our future destiny, at the judgment and control of fallible beings ; and the second fixes our fate, independent of human actions.

True CHRISTIANITY, seeks the equal and greatest possible good, of the *whole* of mankind ; and SECTARIANISM, generally studies the particular benefit of the *few*, at the expense and injury of the many.

There is no SECTARIANISM in Heaven.

Medical Craft.

It is obviously the *craft*, or crooked policy and cunning for the most part pursued by unprincipled and designing physicians, to com-

plex and *disguise* the principal articles or materials of which medicine is composed, so as to render them difficult to be understood, and hazardous to administer, without their aid or advice ; and to *discourage* the use of simple remedies, such as are easily procured, readily understood, and safely administered *without their aid or advice*.

However unnatural or inhuman it may seem, it is nevertheless a prominent branch of the *craft*, to keep mankind in ignorance, as much as possible, of the real *cause* and *nature* of the principal diseases and infirmities to which human nature is liable, and of the actual quality and fitness of remedies.

In a late controversy among physicians, the last article I have observed in public print on the subject ; the writer, who is evidently one of the *craft*, and wrote with the advice and consent of a number more, thus expresses himself:—

“ Now we regret exceedingly that medical questions should be made the subject of newspaper discussions.”

This controversy grew out of a new method of treating fevers, whereby they may be *broken up* on their first commencement ; and thereby prevent the dangers and lengthy fits of sickness occasioned by their usual treatment.

This is certainly an important discovery for mankind ; and, it appears the author has liberally published to the world, his theory and practice in the case.

The *craft* seems to be quite alarmed. Had the author confined his improvement to the faculty ; or had he detailed the principal facts in *latin*, so that none but *classical* gentlemen could have understood it ; the *craft* might still continue their old mode of practice, with the vulgar multitude. But now, since the matter has been published, and in the common language of the country, the public confidence in the reality and importance of the discovery must be destroyed, or every physician will have to adopt it in his own practice—greatly to the reduction of the *usual number of visits*, and *length of bills* !

This attack of the *craft*, upon this truly humane, and important improvement, in the treatment of fevers, plays round with a great

deal of studied malice and deceit, without actually touching upon the real merits of the case.

The craft grow sick of the contest, and manifest a dread of the common freedom of the press, like other enemies to truth, justice, liberty, and human improvement. They even manifest symptoms of *desperation*, in which they seem to say,

“No matter how dearly improvements in the science and practice of medicine, concerns the lives, fortunes, and happiness of mankind ; whenever they have a considerable tendency to *diminish our practice and influence in society*, they must be PUT DOWN—*softly and secretly*, if they can, but *loudly and openly*, if we must.”

Reason is my best physician ; *nature* my apothecary, and *experience* my nurse.

Abstinence, is often the best remedy for an overcrowded stomach ; water, or other simple fluids, to dilute and relieve a hard pulse, and to promote the animal secretions of the body generally ; and well-timed and appropriate exercise, to *equalize* the circulation of the vital and animal fluids—to relieve painful depressions, and ultimately to renovate a weak or debilitated constitution—especially when aided by simple, solid and healthy food.

“BUILD UP OF THE DURABLES,” and *work the flesh well on*.

From a mistaken kindness or humanity, people often take the most effectual methods to excite disease, and promote debility, and ultimately overcome the patient, instead of renovating the constitution and overcoming natural weakness or debility.

The plant that stands out in the open field, exposed to the full power of the sun, the rain, and the winds, expands and becomes a stalky, vigorous and healthy tree ; but the young sapling that grows up in the shade, screened from the full power and influence of the seasoning elements, is generally slender and feeble.

Religious and Political Reviews.

THE publication of candid, judicious and faithful *reviews*, of

our religious and political concerns—comparing our practice with our professions, and the whole with the true standards of christianity, and republicanism, would be highly beneficial, in promoting *consistency, improvement, and good works.*

A religious review—by judiciously comparing the practices of professed Christians with their precepts, and the whole with the true Christian character, would have an important tendency to exalt the rising generation—improve their character and happiness.

The review should be conducted in the true spirit of Christian frankness and liberality; and the standard of comparison should always be their *works* compared with their precepts, and the whole with the true Christian character.

It is a fact greatly to be lamented, that religious publications, even in this free country, are chiefly confined to the narrow views of some *sectarian* creed or policy, rather than extended to the best good of the whole, upon true Christian justice and philanthropy.

A thorough and candid review of our political transactions and concerns, judiciously comparing our leading maxims, measures, habits and designs, with the *principles* and true character of republicanism, would do more to detect and expose political hypocrites, blockheads and knaves; and ultimately to insure our consistency and national prosperity, than all the crooked quibbles, sophistry and trash that circulates in our public prints—tiring the patience, perplexing and bewildering the understanding of the honest inquirers after political truth and consistency.

Such a work would serve as a political *standard*, for testing both, men and measures.

In viewing our political measures, maxims, customs and habits of life, the standard of comparison, should be, *are they just? necessary, reasonable and consistent with the PRINCIPLES of republicanism? and are they judiciously calculated, on the whole, to be beneficial to the community at large, and as the BEST the nature of the case admits of?*

Like separating the choice seed from among the false and imperfect; selecting and refining the true metals from dross and

alloy ; or like weeding and moulding the genuine plants ; so these reviews would be distinguishing and cultivating the real principles of Christianity and republicanism ; and thereby exalting the human character, and increasing the general intelligence, security, prosperity and happiness of the human family.

Almost every other subject, or late production of the press, has passed the *jaws* of reviewers ; but often without being any better digested, refined, or their main worth separated from their useless and bad qualities, than if a *whirlwind* had raked and bespattered the sheets.

When we fully consider the motives that interest and control reviewers, the result need not often surprise any one.

The wasp seeks poison, and the bee honey, from the same general source.

A skilful reviewer, disposed to hinder the sale of any particular book or publication, or to counteract the doctrines or matter it contains, without any regard to truth and fairness, may easily embitter or prejudice the public mind to his purpose, by a few artful selections, remarks and insinuations. On the other hand, when the reviewer is desirous of promoting the sale, or aiding the matter or success of any particular book, project, or undertaking, he can as easily sweeten and stimulate the public mind to favor his purpose, by a few artful selections, remarks and insinuations. So that, by reading an uncandid or deficient review, mankind generally would be more likely to be deceived and ultimately misled, than if they depended on their own judgment, in regard to the various publications and the matter they contain.

Some of our reviewers are real *dandies* in literature and general science, puffed up with all the vanity and effected consequence of superiors, while in fact they are below the common level in actual worth.

Some, who pretend to review valuable publications, seem to go upon the plan of *sponging* from their authors and proprietors, something to fill up their own, mostly, otherways, barren and worthless pages.—

Something like a certain pretended connoisseur in choice articles of liquors, segars, &c., who used to go the rounds frequent-

ly, to TRY new supplies of the kind, in order, he said, that he might be enabled to recommend them to others; and by which means he nighly or quite supplied his own wants, without paying for the articles!

The people of this country, generally, must learn to judge *for themselves*, of the merits, and demerits, of what circulates from the press—as the better part of the community already do. However, *candid*, able and *faithful* reviews, facilitate the progress of every moral, political, and scientific truth and information; and they are therefore greatly to be desired.

Rogues' Policy.

UNPRINCIPLED and designing men, generally, and particularly those who feel interested in the increase of criminal and other offences, and excitements thereto, would be inclined to favor, under some hypocritical or quibbling pretence, the little arts, sayings and false maxims, designed and propagated to stigmatize and deter people from the actions necessary to detect, punish and defeat, villainy.

“The biggest rogue cries rogue first”—(said a rogue, in order to deter people from *proclaiming* him.)

“Set a rogue to catch a rogue”—(said a rogue, to deter people from *catching* him.)

“Biggest rogues turn State's evidence”—(said an old head rogue, to prevent his following accomplices from *testifying* against him.) And all, too, as if rogues were really and designedly working against their own craft!

Among these designing arts to favor villainy, there is none more culpable, and pernicious in its general effects, than the following false law maxim; and which was, no doubt, invented and propagated to prevent the conviction and punishment of criminal and other offenders. Namely,

That it were better, (no doubt better for *rogues*, and their *advocates* and *participators*,) that ten—lord Hale says *ninety*, guilty

persons should be suffered to escape punishment, than that one innocent person should suffer.

This has actually been propagated in the world, as a maxim founded in sober truth and reason—although it is manifest to every man of common discernment, information and reflection, that one or more innocent persons generally *do suffer*, from every criminal and other offender, and particularly from the guilty and unrelenting villains who escape conviction and punishment, and are let loose upon society. Besides, we are constantly putting the lives of innocent persons in jeopardy, in the pursuit, detection, arrest, conviction and punishment of criminal and other offenders.

The following dialogue or conversation, between A. and B. may serve further to explain the subject.

A. Mankind *love to be cheated and imposed upon*.

B. Do *you*, Mr. A. like to be cheated and imposed upon?

A. No—certainly not.

B. Did you ever hear *any* person acknowledge that they liked to be cheated and imposed upon?

A. No—never.

B. How, then, do you ascertain the matter?

A. I have often observed people making light of bad bargains, and other cheats and impositions they had suffered.

B. It is a very common policy for people to make as light as possible of irremediable injuries; but this does not prove, in any degree, that mankind *love to be cheated and imposed upon*.

A. Well—it is an old saying, that I have heard ever since I can remember.

B. It is a *rogue's saying*. The simple truth is, knaves and tyrants love to cheat and impose upon mankind, and would feign to believe that we were *pleased* with such treatment.

These are among the variety of little arts and sayings of rogues, alluded to; and which are often learned in our childhood, or before we are able to discover their fallacy and wicked designs, and are afterwards used without reflection.

Hence it becomes an important duty of the guardians and actual friends of truth, justice and virtue, to detect and defeat the

future progress and design of this, and every other branch of *rogues policy*.

This infamous policy, would have us “speak *well* of a bridge that carries *us* well over”—although we may have good reason to believe that the next person who attempts to pass it, will be ruined.

A Hypocrite.

It is evidently a virtue, to suppress an evil temper or disposition ; but to declare a vicious propensity, openly, is less dishonourable, than to indulge it secretly.

An avowed infidel is far more tolerable in society, than A HYPOCRITE. The avowed infidel, stands open to view, *as he is*, and if you choose you can shun him : But A HYPOCRITE—is like *a rock covered over with smooth water*, which sweeps the unsuspecting mariner to destruction, at a moment when he apprehends no danger ; like a *false friend*, who flatters you with smiles and fair professions, while he meditates your ruin ; like a *snake in the grass*, which darts its deadly poison, before it is heeded ; like a *pirate*, who approaches the defenceless merchantman, under a friendly, or “patriot” flag, or perhaps draws him within the reach of his guns, by false signals of distress, and then commits plunder and murder ; or like a *swindler*, who gains possession of the public, or individual’s confidence and property, by false and deceitful representations, and management, and then endeavors to evade pursuit, or otherways to keep them from repossessing their property. A HYPOCRITE, is like an *unprincipled and designing lawyer*, who professes to be the particular friend and advocate of virtue, justice, liberty, and humanity, while he exerts his skill and talents to excite and harden vice, defeat justice, and to rivet the shackles of tyranny and oppression upon his fellow men ; like *false christians*, who often perform the external *ceremonies* of religion, with all the mechanical precision and accuracy that a well disciplined band of soldiers go through with their exercise and

evolutions—(and with about as much real religion,) while their minds are full of *ingratitude*, *revenge*, treachery, persecution, and all manner of meanness. A HYPOCRITE, is like *false patriots*, who often make high sounding pretensions of their sense of common justice, of honour, and of regard for the public good, only to disguise their schemes of knavery and political oppression; a real “*wolf in sheep’s clothing*,” or like an *assassin*, who approaches you in the dark, or with a concealed weapon; or, among a virtuous and enlightened people, *hypocrisy* is very like *counterfeit money*, which often has a first appearance, of real and desirable value, while it finally serves only to impoverish and disgrace its possessor.

There are many people, who openly profess that which they do not believe, or otherways disguise their real sentiments, and views, from *fear*, and without any evil intentions. Such people are often to be pitied. There are others, who occasionally dissemble from no bad motive. But a real and designing *hypocrite*, is the most abominable infidel on earth. He don’t believe a word in the eternal wisdom and justice of the Creator, or in rewards and punishments “according to the deeds done in the body.” He probably worships the *devil*, in secret, and thinks himself the *cunningest* being on earth. He makes such professions, and performs the ceremonies, that he thinks will sound and appear best, in order to disguise his crooked character and designs; and no doubt often laughs in his sleeve to think how he cheats mankind. A hypocrite is a studied cheat—an impostor—a knave—a made fool, and one who generally finds himself the worst cheated, at last.

There is not one word of final hope for a *hypocrite*, in the whole history of divine revelation: But on the contrary, the severest denunciations are recorded against them; and those who are finally condemned, are to take their portion with *hypocrites*.

SATIRE was evidently designed by Heaven for the purpose of unveiling hypocrites, and rendering vice ridiculous. Its bold and penetrating shafts, when judiciously directed, rends the veil of

hypocrisy and vice, and exposes them to the scorn and contempt, of a virtuous and observing public.

Well seasoned wit, *sharpens* truth and makes it *cut*.

A certain person, after trying, in vain, by mild language, to dissuade a number of evil minded individuals and their deluded tools and followers, from the wrongs they were industriously inflicting upon a distinguished public benefactor, under a heedless or fictitious pretext—finally exclaimed, “*that’s right*—defame, plunder and persecute *your best friends*; and then, when you find yourselves detected, say it was not you, but an evil spirit that dwelleth in you, and so *own* yourselves the instruments of the devil !” This, like a stroke of lightning, rent the veil of their hypocrisy, and exposed them, even to the reproaches of *one another*.

Hurl satire, then, as keen as pointed steel, prick through the hypocrites’ robes and make the wretches feel, **THE STINGS OF TRUTH.**

Human corruption and depravity, are measured by the **CONTRAST**, between precept and example, betwixt *profession* and *practice*.

To profess fairly, and practice foully in reverse of one’s profession, is the very extreme of human corruption and depravity.

Hence, those who pretend to act under the holy and sacred influence and obligation of religion, or divine justice ; and those who profess a regard for the personal, or political rights, prosperity and happiness of their neighbours, or fellow beings, as a *cloak* or *disguise* of their real and base designs, betray the very excess of human wickedness and depravity.

A person who watches the conduct of religious professors, and judiciously compares their practice with their precepts or professions, and the whole with the true christsan character, and boldly detects and exposes hypocrites and imposters, does more to promote the real cause of virtue and human happiness, than a host of idle declaimers—who preach without attending to the practice, and often prove, by their *works*, that they don’t believe what they say.

The same remarks may be applied to *false* patriots, and *political hypocrites*, and *impostors*.

Robbers in Disguise.

THERE is often a mistaken or base policy observed, in *concealing* a person's true character, circumstances, or situation in regard to property, and in *omitting* to expose the same, when they are known to be obtaining a credit, confidence, or consequence, beyond their merits. Perhaps on false representations, or fictitious appearances of wealth, character, or responsibility, by which they are enabled to *rob* others of their property, or that which is equally essential to their enjoyment.

I should generally doubt the honesty of any person, who was unwilling to have their true character, circumstances or situation made known, and especially to those of whom they requested credit, confidence or assistance.

Generally speaking, a person has *no business* to contract debts or engagements beyond their means of fulfilment. If this rule was only faithfully adhered to, a man seldom would lie at the mercy of his creditors.

It may be good policy for lawyers, and some description of sharpers, who make money out of the treachery and embarrassments of mankind ; but it is attended with ruinous consequences to the best part of community.

That which conceals the truth, or induces people to remain silent, at the sight or apprehension of fraud, or injury meditated against a fellow-being, is at best, *rogues' policy*.

Knaves, or bankrupts, in *disguise*, are not much unlike "wolves in sheep's clothing," or traps and snares set and disguised to take fellow-beings ; and wilfully to avoid exposing them to the ignorant and concerned, is like a man's neglecting to give the usual notice or alarm, when he sees thieves preparing to rob a fellow being, or the midnight incendiary setting fire to his neighbour's buildings.

There is often a strange delicacy manifested about enquiring into a man's actual circumstances or situation, for fear of "*injuring his credit*"—just as if the simple *truth* could wrong an *honest* man !

If any person makes a *false* representation, or appearance, in regard to their wealth, character, circumstances or situation, whereby others are liable to be deceived and injured, it is our common *duty* to expose them; and, surely, none but rogues and fools will complain of such a custom.

Equality of Prices for Nominally the same Personal Services.

THERE probably is no regulation between individuals, in our country, more unequal and pernicious in its general consequences, than that which fixes the same price, for *nominally* the same personal services—as is the case among men of various professions and occupations in some of our cities. If all men of the same trade, profession or occupation, were *equally* capable, and faithful to their employers, there would be some propriety in such a regulation. But as there is a great difference between the abilities, character and trust of men of the same trade, profession and occupation, there certainly can be no justice or propriety in fixing precisely the same price or rate of compensation for their performing *nominally* the same service.

Under such a regulation of prices, we should all generally calculate to employ *only the very best* of every trade, profession or occupation, since their compensation is fixed at the same rate; although we might prefer others of inferior talents and skill, *at a due and proportionate rate of charges*—the same as we prefer different *qualities* of goods, on various occasions, and for different purposes, at their appropriate worth.

Physicians, lawyers, master and journeymen mechanics, seamen, house and domestic servants, labourers, &c., are sometimes included under this regulation. It would however be just as fair and proper, to have uniform and fixed prices for all articles of merchandize, of the same kind, without any regard to their various qualities and real worth. One piece of calico may be worth only 20 cents the yard, and another 75 cents, from their difference in *quality*—and yet a yard of calico is a *yard of cali-*

co, and both may render essentially the same service. The same kind of goods have different prices attached to them, on account of some specific and material difference in their real quality and worth. This extra high price which we pay for articles of superior worth, as for the most excellent personal services, is generally designed to compensate and encourage real merit.

Both the public and individuals are wronged by this regulation of prices. A few of the best of every profession and occupation, subject to the regulations referred to, get much more business than they can do; the middling and inferior ones, being obliged to charge at the same rate for their services, have not often half employment—although they might have a full share, at just and merited prices. The result is, they often have to seek employment and do work under the *name* of others, and have only a *part* of what is actually paid for their labors.

Established master mechanics—for instance, watch-repairers, tailors, and the like, under such regulations, in some of our large cities, are said to do piece or job work for others of their profession, and receive only about *half* the price that is finally paid for the same—the surplus goes to increase the riches of those, who have, otherways the advantage.

Had those customers or persons for whom the work was finally done, came direct to these master mechanics who did their work, and paid them *three-fourths* of the price they actually gave, they would have paid at the rate of *three* dollars, instead of *four*, and those who did the work, would have received at the rate of *three* dollars, instead of *two*. And besides, in this way, there would be nothing extra furnished on the mechanic or his customers to increase the riches of those who have already the advantage.

This operates something like the European system of tenantry and *under-tetanting*.

All combinations for affecting such purposes by *force*, should be put down, as conspiracies against merit, reason, justice and humanity.

A *nominal* amount of work, or service, performed by journeymen mechanics, seamen, labourers, domestic servants, and the like, by no means justifies the payment of the same wages; for

one may be strictly honest, temperate, punctual in his attendance, and careful in his attention and business to the interests of his employer; civil, and exemplary in his general conduct, and in every respect the most *capable, trusty, and faithful* of any of his profession or occupation, while another may be the reverse. By giving the opposite character the same rate of wages, for nominally the same work or service, leaves virtue and merit unrewarded and unencouraged; and no doubt this rule of compensation is the scheme of some knave or blockhead of the defective class, to raise their services upon a par with the best—with real virtue and merit.

We might almost as well attempt to fix an equality of prices for every article of the same name and quantity, without any regard to their various *qualities* and actual worth.

This custom of fixing the same price or rate of wages for *nominally* the same personal services, has an unjust, immoral and anti-republican tendency; and all combinations and efforts to effect or enforce such regulations, ought to be prohibited and promptly punished by law.

Satan's Tax Gatherer.

A MAN who hired horses and carriages at a livery stable, complained that the *same price* was exacted of him, as was asked of the most profligate and uncertain customers. He said that he was well known to the livery man, to be a safe and trusty person, who always used the horses and carriages well, gave a true account of the use he had made of them, and paid down in cash for their use, and yet he perceived that no higher price was *asked*, of the most precarious and unworthy customers; and even most of that amount, was *booked*, and the payment deferred, and much of it totally lost.

The livery man agreed that this was a fair statement of the case; but said, with intent to justify himself, that he was obliged to ask more of honest men, than he otherways should do, in or-

der to make up the amount or proportion that dishonest and precarious characters cheated him out of.

Then, replied the customer, you *tax honest men for the benefit of rogues!*

So does every body, who do not make a suitable difference in price or terms, between an honest customer, and ready pay, and a knave, and uncertain pay.

Speculating Nobility.

THERE is a kind of *self-created order* of speculating gentry, in this country, who claim *extra privileges*.

They are generally to be found formed into little knots or parties, in almost every considerable city, town, district or section of country, co-operating to enforce their claims to a part of the earnings of the vulgar, and particularly to a share of the *profits* of every considerable enterprise or undertaking, as due for their *influence* and *indulgence*.

This order of gentry commenced their career soon after the revolutionary war ended, in *public security*, *soldier note*, and *new land SPECULATIONS*. It so happened, that some of them soon *got bit*, and then *bit others*, until the speculating mania became a kind of general disease, affecting, by turns, almost every considerable interest or branch of business in the union.*

These little knots of speculating gentry, (which are mostly composed of lawyers, traders, bank managers, brokers and sharpers—many of whom are in the exercise of some office or public employment,) generally claim a participation, or share of the

* During the rage of new land speculation, at one period, a shrewd character, who happened among the speculating gentry, at one of their head quarters—on hearing some boast of the mighty sums they had made by their speculations, (probably done to lure him and others to take hold,) coolly said, that was nothing:—when he was a *boy*, he made *fifty thousand* dollars, one morning before breakfast, only just SWAPPING WENS!

profits, at least, of every new establishment, enterprise or undertaking of any considerable magnitude or prospect of gain.

When they are unsuccessful in their endeavours to obtain a direct or indirect participation in the profits ; or even when they think they have not been sufficiently consulted, or their advice adhered to, in the commencement or progress of the business, scheme or undertaking, they frequently manifest their policy and resentment, by endeavours to embarrass, or *upset* the whole concern, and *speculate on the ruins* ! In which case, lawyers and sharpers are pretty sure to make a good *haul* !

The bank making business, and their ultimate management, and consequences, has afforded them an almost boundless harvest.

To gain an interest in the profits of an establishment, enterprise or undertaking, these knights of speculation, generally offer to aid with their *influence*, or *protection*,* or a degree of credit, or real capital ; but in most cases they contrive to avoid the actual hardships and hazards of the business ; and some how arrange the same, so that they can control its operations, and embarrass or arrest its progress, at pleasure : so that, if they finally find they can do *no better*, they can generally sweep the whole, or *wreck* the concern and speculate on the ruins !

It seems to be quite a matter of policy and calculation, with this order or fraternity of speculating gentry, to induce young and inexperienced persons to commence business ; and others to enlarge, or engage in business *beyond* their skill, capital, or means of managing to advantage : and also to excite *unwarrantable competitions* in business ; and to influence or induce mankind generally, to borrow money, and otherways involve themselves, unnecessarily : and all to increase their own influence and control, and to multiply their chances for final spoil and speculation, out

* It is believed that piracy, negro stealing, treason, counterfeiting, smuggling, swindling the public, and individuals, and the like *enterprises*, have occasionally engaged the interest and attention of some of this order or fraternity of speculating gentry : who generally contrive, in such cases, to manage rogues as their tools or instruments for robbing others, without subjecting themselves to the penalty and odium attached to the execution of the offences.

of the embarrassments and wreck of human fortunes and undertakings. Something like wreckers who hoist *false lights* to lead vessels in the night, on to shoals and breakers, that they may gain something by theft, salvage, or *spoil*, out of their unfortunate victims.

When there are two or more doing business in company concern, these speculating gentry—when they are unable to effect their purposes by other means, sometimes endeavour to seduce one or more of the concern, to league with them, against the rest, for a participation or share in the spoils thereof!

After a breach or wound has been effected in the fortune or undertakings of a person, who is not of their fraternity, or under their special influence or indulgence, and particularly if caused by their attacks, their greediness and ferocity, for completing his destruction, sometimes seems truly horrible. *The cries and blood of the wounded victim, increase the fierceness and cruelty of the greedy pursuers.*

When any one is firm enough, or has sufficient *hardihood*, as they often term it, to resist their claims, and especially to remonstrate with them on their conduct, and *expose* their transactions and designs to the public, they frequently manifest a disposition, quite similar to the despoilers and despots of the old world.

I think it might be well to have this order of speculating gentry, duly recognized and established by law, with appropriate badges and decorations or *marks of distinction*, that the public might know them, at once, and pay them the homage that properly belongs to their *rank* and *importance*; and that they might receive a *pension*, suitable to their *merits*, without having recourse to *forced* contributions and loans, to support their dignity and independence!

It often seems greatly to disturb the temper and calculations of these enemies of human rights and integrity, to see a man quietly enjoying the just fruits of his own ingenuity, industry and enterprise, or usefulness.

Like the Jews, (probably from what has been recorded by their master Moses,) they seem to regard *labor* as a *curse*, and therefore contrive every scheme to avoid it themselves, and to dishonor it in others.

While these speculating gentry are permitted a participation, or controlling influence in the transactions and affairs of government, honest industry and merit must pay them TRIBUTE, for there is scarcely a chance or possibility of avoiding the effect of their combined power, influence and designs.

Balance of Power.

THE doctrine and idea, of a *balance of power*—an *equality of strength*, so as to be always able to repel force to force, being necessary between *civilized* nations, in order to preserve their rights ; and which some pretend is indispensable—even between different parts of our own government, is a bigoted error, or hypocritical fallacy ; and particularly as relates to our own country, where there is but *one* acknowledged source of sovereign authority, and is not, or should not be, any clashing between different and contending sovereigns. In this political union,

Each are but parts, of *one united whole* ;
The people's will, the sovereign and the soul.

The late bloody and desolating conflict, that long kept Europe in tears and agony, to regulate this pretended *magic* of human government, has left the matter just about as doubtful and unsettled, as it found it.

Conflicts between despots, raging for slaughter, plunder, or dominion, should have another name. But in this country, where there is but *one* acknowledged source of human power and authority—where the sovereignty is entirely in the free will of the people, such a thing as a *BALANCE of power*, is a hypocritical fallacy, or belongs to some of those bigoted ideas of misguided and bewildered politicians—who, the more they think, the less they know.

This matter, however, has been fairly settled.

I once saw two flocks of sheep approaching each other, in a large open pasture, when two old rams, which had long headed

each flock, stepped forth and ended this mighty question of a balance of power, by a tremendous bunting conflict.

Trained to fight; proud of dominion, and eager to control, the two wary chiefs, after fiercely eyeing each other, for a moment, menaced the terrible combat, and soon settled it, by one's having his neck broke!

The two flocks, although strangers, had no disposition to quarrel with each other, and there being no haughty and rival chiefs to conflict with each other, or contend by force for a balance of power, all remained in peace and general harmony.

Caucus System.

WHEN there was two great political parties in the United States, nighly equal in numbers, contending for different *principles* of government, and both violently struggling for supremacy, necessity seemed to justify the concentration of party forces, in favor of the most popular candidate, through the recommendation of a few confidential leaders, as an expedient for the particular case, or as a choice of evils.

Since the violence of party contention has mainly subsided, and the principles of our government have been established, in a measure, by precept and example; together with the general increase of political information; caucus nominations have become less justifiable in principle, and more dangerous in practice.

To those who regard them, caucus nominations have assumed, in a great measure, the form and force of *law*, restraining their subjects from the free exercise of their rights and best judgment as FREEMEN—so that they have almost done thinking and acting FOR THEMSELVES. When preparing for an election, instead of exercising their own reasons and best judgment, in the selection of suitable men for the various public offices, they generally inquire of some caucus master or manager, “who are the candidates *to be voted for?*” and then put in their ballots accordingly; and

generally without venturing to say a word in objection, for fear some caucus spy or informer will report them to their masters or head men, for *punishment*—proscription and persecution.

All this is generally done under the hypocritical pretext of *necessity*, (that general excuse for outrages upon human rights,) in order to prevent a defeat of the republicans—although it is plain that those who manage to affect a government of the *many*, by the *few*, through the discipline and dictation of a CAUCUS SYSTEM, are not republicans in *practice*—whatever they may have been, or now *profess* to be.

Many of the *caucus masters*, talk precisely as aristocrats do, in the energy of their power and control—that we, the common people, must GIVE UP OUR OPINIONS, to the direction and management of *a few knowing ones*!

The man, who is so nominated to an elective office, generally feels much more dependent, on the very *few*, comparatively, who nominate him, than the *many* whose suffrages he finally obtains through the artifice.

The *districting* of the states, for the choice of representatives in congress, presidential electors, state senators, and the like offices, has been studiously deferred and defeated, in many instances—under some hypocritical or quibbling pretext, in order to detain the only plausible excuse, at present, for caucus nominations; and which is, that the freemen generally are not sufficiently acquainted *throughout a whole state*, to make suitable selections—although they might do it *within their own district*, if the states were so divided. And, therefore, the candidates must be picked out, by a few knowing ones, for the *freemen to choose*!

Some, have endeavoured to assimilate *a convention of delegates*, to a caucus, and to regard all as *regular* nominations, made by either; there is however a total difference, between the acts of men, duly chosen, authorised, and instructed, by the people, and immediately assembled *for the express purpose of making a suitable selection of candidates to be recommended for an election* to a particular office, and a voluntary meeting of individuals—without authority, instruction, or responsibility—perhaps composed of men, mostly actuated by their own personal vanity, or a con-

tempt for the peoples' rights and best good, holding up particular men as duly nominated for certain offices—a kind of *usurpers*, alike dangerous to republicanism, and odious to a genuine republican spirit.

Sovereignty of the People.

It is admitted, that the sovereignty of this country, is in *the people*, and that *their will*, fairly expressed, is the supreme law of the land.

But, *who are the sovereign people?*

By the laws of the different states, various qualifications are required to admit a person to an efficient voice in the public concerns. In some, if not in most of our states, men of color are not allowed to be qualified and vote; in Virginia, a freehold, or a certain amount of real estate, is required, by existing laws, to qualify a man for voting; and in other states, the qualifications required, vary, until they come to what they call *universal suffrage*—although even this seems variously construed.

In strict political justice, every good and efficient member of the community, should be, some how, entitled to a voice in the common concerns thereof.—Perhaps every free-born, white, male citizen, of common good sense, information, and character, after they have become twenty-one years of age, while they contribute to the *general defence* of the country and government, by the performance of their military duty, or by the payment of a specific and appropriate tax for the *general support*, should be intitled to a voice in the selection and appointment of public servants.

This power exists in the living members of the community, to exercise for all just, necessary, humane and reasonable purposes, for the general good, as the perpetual sovereigns of the country; and in whom power is annually changing, in a degree, from the hands of one set of men, to another, by old ones going off, and new ones coming into active life.

Hence it is very absurd to suppose that, the sovereign acts of one set of freemen or voters, should be any further binding on

their successors, than the public faith had been justly and necessarily pledged.

Ten years may change a majority of the whole freemen or voters of a state, by the loss or reduction of those who go off, by death, removal out of the state, and by ceasing to be qualified, and by the gain or addition of those who come in, by coming of age, moving into the state, and by getting qualified to vote.

If this was not the case, we could destroy the liberty and independence of our successors, by *firing* every thing unalterably, before they come into active life, and thereby prevent whatever improvements human experience and wisdom might justly require for the general good.

Improvements in Legislation.

THE main object of all actual *improvements*, in legislation as in other arts, sciences and operations, is to produce the *most perfect and desired result*, and with the *least trouble and expense*.

An incorporated body, or any association of individuals in want of a plan for a building, or a device for any intricate and complicated subject, would generally prefer offering a premium or suitable reward for the best production that could be offered : by which means, they avail themselves of the best and most suitable talents in the country, and at the same time accomplish the object in view at the cheapest rate.

Suppose a state, or nation, in want of a new, or revised and improved constitution ; or a system of taxation or revenue ; or a *code* of civil, criminal, or military law, or a code of original or improved law for any particular purpose—instead of assembling a *host* of delegates to deliberate from day to day, in order to devise and form the same ; they would generally accomplish the object in view, much better, and at far less trouble and expence, by seasonably making their wants known, with the offer of ample premiums or rewards for the best production that could be offered for the purpose ; and then, at a given time, when delegates were assembled, they might make their choice or selections, and assign rewards.

Whenever it should be thought expedient for a state or nation to license associations for banking, insurance, and a variety of other purposes, under certain circumstances, regulations and restrictions, consistent with the general good—by simply enacting one *uniform and general law* for the purpose, would accomplish the object in the best manner, and at the least trouble and expense.

There would be a degree of fairness and impartiality, in such a measure ; and all who were similarly situated, or able to comply with the general and required conditions of a charter, might obtain the same without a special act of legislation for their particular purpose.

A legislative assembly, could not then be approached and *teased*, or *juggled* with—corrupted, and half their sessions wasted, by public robbers and beggars in pursuit of *extra privileges*.

Legislatures are generally too numerous, heavy and expensive bodies of men, to be employed on subjects of private claims, or individual and separate cases ; where the actual expense of legislation often exceeds the whole value and importance of the claim, or matter acted upon. (How absurd, too, is it to judge from *ex-parte* evidence, which is generally done in such cases.)

This legislating by *inches*, is too small work to employ such numerous and expensive bodies upon, and generally costs the people much more than their work is worth. A well regulated *general system* of laws, would do away most of the troublesome and expensive legislating, *singly*, on private claims, and individual or separate cases.

Mercy.

THE knaves and hypocrites of the world, have *twisted* the MEANING of words, in order to pervert them to their base and crooked purposes, until many important sentences in common use, have no definite and practical application. Among which, that has not been noticed under their respective titles, is the word
MERCY.

According to the most common and important application of this word, the act of suspending, or finally annulling a judicial sentence, or public act or decree, incurring a penalty, is an act of *mercy*.

If a wrong act, sentence or decree, has been produced, from the ignorance, haste or evil intentions, of a legislative body, or judicial tribunal, to correct or annul the same, is an act of *justice*: but to interrupt or defeat the execution of final *justice*; and especially to favor the guilty and unrelenting, is any thing but an act of mercy.

Mercy is nothing but COMPLETE JUSTICE, in a high moral and political point of view.

To suspend, or annul an unjust or imperfect law, or an erroneous and cruel sentence, is an act of final justice.

It is an act of mercy, to interfere with and restrain a rash and cruel mandate, or master, in favor of justice and humanity; but to favor the evasion of justice, or any way to facilitate the designs of the unprincipled, is a base and unmerciful transaction.

God is always just and merciful. Eternal justice and wisdom are the immutable attributes of His nature.

Justice to the guilty, is mercy to the innocent.

Litigation.

A LITIGIOUS spirit has been so artfully excited, and so long indulged, in some places, that as soon as a considerable *lawsuit* is talked of, the parties fly to arms, and endeavour to enlist, or *press* into their service, the prejudices, passions, interests and feelings of their neighbours and fellow-men, each on his own side of the case. Thus conflicts are sometimes aggravated and spread to an immense extent, involving those within their range, on one side or the other, like a civil war; and all, too, frequently about some trifling circumstance, hardly worth minding. The same conflicts, in some instances, if only divested of the "*colour of law*," might be construed into vicious assaults, or disturbances of the common peace.

This litigious spirit has been so thoroughly cultivated, in many places, and especially where lawyers have a controlling power, that it has become a common *disease*—inflaming, corroding and destroying the peace, virtue, prosperity and happiness of the body politic, like the fiery and acrimonious humours of a cancer upon the human body.

No wonder that *lawyers*, who gain most of their wealth and power, by unnecessarily exciting, aggravating, complexing and prolonging litigious and inquisitorial struggles, investigations and quibbles, should study to keep mankind at variance as much as possible; but that fellow-beings—neighbours, even professed *Christians*, should encourage one another to quarrel, and be treacherous—“to see which can do the other *the most harm*,” in litigious warfare, is truly infernal.

What a scene is this for the contemplation of a virtuous and reflecting mind!

Lawyers no doubt often laugh in their sleeves, to see what fools we are to quarrel for *their* benefit.

Do we reflect on the consequences of fostering—enriching and elevating to influence and power, a host of hard-hearted and hypocritical inquisitors? Will they not, one day, form the chief tools and machinery of a haughty and overbearing aristocracy, and rule us with a rod of iron? Who, indeed, that comprehends all the secret springs, windings and bearings of human policy and cunning, and does not see the future designs of an odious and overbearing aristocracy, growing out of an intricate and complicated system of laws, aided by a host of other crooked transactions and subordinate designs, and particularly favoured by the late (1819–20,) embarrassment of the times?

Did any one ever consider how lawyers were aiding their own private policy and future gains, by the establishment of a great number of banks—not putting them under proper regulations and restrictions? inducing people to borrow money unnecessarily, and to enter into numerous and unwarrantable speculations? The embarrassments, frauds, and human depravity that would finally result, or grow out of them, to the great benefit of lawyers; and, in a degree, every description of sharpers, and others inim-

ical to the virtue, liberty, independence and prosperity of the people ? And are not many of the measures devised and applied *to keep off justice*—or unjustly embarrass and defer the payment of honest debts, and otherways professedly to *relieve* the embarrassment of the times, of the same crooked policy and character ? together with many of the swindling defalcations, and other loose uses of public funds ?

If such are the interests and designs of lawyers, (and their particular participators and tools,) are they a proper set of men to manage the public concerns ? Is it safe for the public, or individuals, to entrust *both sides* of a cause, or concern, to men of *the same professional* and other views, lest they should form a secret understanding and designedly play into each others hands ?—Such a concern is by no means improbable, if not highly suspicious, more especially when in the employ of ignorant or unsuspecting persons, and of dependent and defenceless individuals.

Wherein does the *litigious inquisition*, materially differ from the holy inquisition ? It is true, the holy inquisition managed their affairs chiefly in secret ; but has not the cunning and intrigue of lawyers formed nighly a substitute in some of our courts, by having the chief *ceremonies* performed openly, while the real motion and design are governed by secret springs and machinery, managed behind the curtain or *out of public view* ?—The king of Spain, has probably found a *litigious* inquisition, a good substitute for the *holy* inquisition, in enforcing his schemes of plunder, persecution and oppression.

Some of our litigious inquisitors, are certainly as zealous in the cause of fraud, persecution, vexation and oppression, as were the knights of the holy inquisition ; and are nighly or quite as expert in effecting *confiscations*, and in the contrivance and application of *racks* and *tortures*, (though some are of a different construction,) especially against the real friends and benefactors of mankind—the common subjects of the most bitter hatred and persecution of both inquisitors—*holy*, and *litigious*.

In order to avoid, as much as possible, the ruinous effects of *litigation*, some have expressly provided, in their wills,* con-

* See WASHINGTON'S will, for one.

tracts, and other doings, to refer all disputes or differences arising therefrom, which the parties cannot settle among themselves, to the adjustment of an *arbitration*.

Such examples have greatly alarmed the *craft*, for the decline of their power and gains ; who have generally manifested their malice and designs, by studying to wreak their vengeance on such instruments, and their authors and patrons. But are we to be thus plainly told, with impunity, that if we study to avoid the vexatious and ruinous *snares* and *fangs of litigation*, as much as possible, by a candid and peaceable reference or settlement of differences among ourselves, without the aid or intervention of lawyers, that we shall suffer the utmost vengeance in their power ? Not, I trust, until we invest them with the sovereignty of the country, and acknowledge them our *masters*.

The following may serve to give some idea of the disgusting and ruinous effects of litigation, to those who have never experienced any of its baneful consequences, or otherways had the subject properly brought *home* to their *own* interests or understandings.

A man of high respectability, who was originally a practising lawyer, but who had been in a high public office for several years—having a suit of his own, wherein he employed another lawyer to assist him ; on complaining to his assistant lawyer, of the unnecessary delays, quibbles and expences, indulged by the court, the latter charged him with inconsistency, and expressed much surprise that *he*—a man who had practised law twenty years or upwards, could not have patience to get through with one suit, when it became *his own concern*. To which the original replied and said, that he was situated, something like a man who had lived so long upon *skunks*, that he fairly sickened at the sight of a burrow !

Keeping Justice off.

DEFERRING judgment, or execution, in indisputable cases ;

carrying suits from one court to another ; putting over trials, from term to term, of suits pending in the same court ; are all artifices too often resorted to, under some fictitious or frivolous pretext, to indulge intrigue and seduction, in favor of profligates and knaves, and ultimately to increase the wealth and influence of lawyers, and others who are interested in the profits of vexatious, tedious and *unnecessary law proceedings*.

Merely the unnecessary *delays*, that are indulged in some of our judicial and executive proceedings, are often more injurious to one or both of the parties, than the final judgment.

JUSTICE is prompt, and reasonable, and always has the cause of virtue, and the good of the community, in view.

The painful and protracted *anxieties*, to which the parties are subject, during a protracted or deferred contest, or decision of a case, wherein they have any considerable interest at stake ; the dangers of *intrigue* and *corruption*, which time generally favors with opportunity for indulgence ; the *interruption* and injury occasioned to the private interests and concerns of the parties, as well as the ordinary *increase* of expenses, attending delays ; all powerfully co-operate to urge a prompt and manly discharge of the judicial and executive duties.

Receipting property taken on execution and then *sueing* the receipt, in order to keep off the collection of money due, and favor delinquents, lawyers, and sheriffs, is a most shameful practice.

By preventing the payment of one debt, often embarrasses the settlement of others, and ultimately occasions numerous other suits.

A judge, who had practiced law a number of years, before his judicial services commenced, remarked to a neighbour one day, to whom he had just paid a hundred dollar bill, that the same bill had passed through nine different hands, within forty-eight hours, and had been the *principal* medium of cancelling nine debts—some debts being more, and others less, than the exact amount of the bill. That, had not the first payment been made, probably many of the others would have been neglected ; and had suits been brought in all the cases, the cost, vexation, trouble and sa-

crifices of time and property, that would have resulted, would probably have exceeded the amount of the bill, several times. This may serve to show us, in some degree, the importance resulting from the prompt fulfilment of our engagements; and which should be encouraged, as a matter of principle, as well as good policy, by the real friends of human improvement, and prosperity.

Terrors of Law.

IN many places, the mere threat of a *prosecution*, especially for any thing of a disputable nature, strikes a kind of *terror* on the person threatened, however free he may be from having given any just provocation or grounds for an action; for the trouble, loss of time, interruption of business, anxiety, vexation and expenses attending his defence, beyond what the courts generally allow in cost, if he finally "*beats*," amounts usually to a sacrifice or serious injury. But the horrible UNCERTAINTY of the law, at last, is one of the greatest terrors, with an *honest* man.

I have heard of a lawyer, (sometimes called the *village despot*,) who became so terrible, in his intrigues and management of cases, that some of the inhabitants actually stipulated to pay him a certain annual fee, (*tribute*,) that he should not engage in any suits against them—not do them any *harm*!

I knew a lawyer, who was emphatically styled the *king of terrors*, from his prodigious power and influence, in bearing down all before him—right, or wrong. I never learned whether any stipulated to pay him tribute, for fear he would do them harm; but it was pretty generally known that he had amassed an immense property, by grinding and overbearing those who could not *resist* him.

Most Honourable Profession.

WHAT is a lawyer's *oath*? and how many of the profession regard it?

Does the lawyer's oath, practically bind him, to consult his client's actual and best good? Does he advise and assist his clients, truly and faithfully, to the best of his abilities, to avoid going to law as much as possible—to pursue a fair and honourable course of conduct towards all men, and when differences occur, which cannot well be avoided, or finally settled by the parties, without too great sacrifice, to endeavour to effect a peaceable and fair reference of the same, to other men? especially when he knows that *justice* is more generally to be expected, and with far less delay, anxiety, trouble and expense, than is generally to be apprehended from ordinary lawsuits. Is there one lawyer in ten, who has had considerable practice, that can truly say he has not repeatedly, and *knowingly* occasioned his clients unnecessary trouble, delay, anxiety, loss, hazard, or expense, to favor his own private gain or other purposes?

If a lawyer gives his client wrong advice, or loses his case by sheer indolence or carelessness—where is the remedy? Or suppose a lawyer should manage your cause *designedly*, to have it terminate unjustly, or against you, (which is not very difficult, nor perhaps uncommon,) without *publicly* seeming to violate his duty—where, then is your remedy, or safety against such designs?

After entrusting a lawyer with the secrets of a cause, your hands are, as it were, "*in a bear's mouth*." If you find your confidence misplaced—that he is incapable, indolent, careless of your concern, or treacherously inclined, you cannot safely go on, nor retract—he can do pretty much as he pleases with you, and yet leave you no remedy.

Lawyers have their own peculiar interests, prejudices and feelings, and are much more experienced in the art of disguising their intentions, than people of most other professions. Where then is the safety or propriety of entrusting *them* with our dearest interests and concerns, and especially without any competent

authority to watch over them, and to bring them to a proper account for their misconduct ?

Inquisitorial authorities have generally studied to rob, persecute and oppress, men of extraordinary virtue, genius and worth—the best friends and benefactors of mankind : although they have occasionally varied their *pretence* and *method* for accomplishing their purposes. Let us not, then, mistake the object of all human *craft*, since *actions* speak louder than words. The man who comprehends the human character, with all the various interests, prejudices and policies that influence and control the different situations, and habits of life, pays little regard to the hypocritical professions of men.

Men who are professedly so pious and *holy*, that they can do no wrong ; and those who are so *learned*, *liberal* and *patriotic*, or *honourable* and *exalted*, as to be above all suspicion or accountability for their conduct, can hardly be too strictly watched and guarded, especially when possessed of considerable trust or power. If we look into the real history of the world, we shall find that mankind have been shockingly robbed, enslaved and tormented, under fine sounding titles and pretensions.

The following is an extract from Mr. M'Duffie's speech in congress, published in a Washington paper, of March 31st, 1826 ; and may serve to show what some of the self-styled "*most honourable profession*," conceive it proper for them to do. Says Mr. M'Duffie, " I have been for seven years of my life engaged in the constant practice of the law—a profession in which every body knows it is the duty of the advocate *to vindicate right and wrong* INDIFFERENTLY, by every argument or artful appeal, that can affect the judgments, the passions, or the prejudices of men."

It would be a burlesque upon reason and common sense, to suppose that a virtuous and enlightened being could seriously advocate right and wrong with *indifference*, and designedly use deceitful and unfair means to accomplish his purposes ; and, certainly, no such man could rationally conceive it to be his *duty*, so to do.

We need not often wonder at the result of a practice, so revolting to justice and humanity.

Contempt of Court.

WHAT is a *contempt of court* ? May a judicial officer, however high in authority, seize an individual, at his own will and pleasure—become accuser, evidence, and judge, in his own case, and subject the person to fine and imprisonment, agreeable to his own will, for what he may please to consider a contempt of his judicial dignity or authority ?

This is certainly an extraordinary power, if it really does exist, or is tolerated, in this land of professed justice, liberty, and equality. Our rights, surely ought to be better defined and protected.

A judge, may, it would seem, circumscribe or abridge the necessary freedom of enquiry, and give *point* and *colouring* to evidence, to gratify his partialities, or to affect his crooked policy and designs ; or he may otherways conduct himself so as to merit the contempt and indignation of every virtuous and deserving observer, and yet his judicial sanctuary protects him against every efficient correction. Like a king or sovereign prince, he *can do no wrong*, in the exercise of his judicial *sovereignty*.

Court of Chancery.

IT is not a little remarkable, that these *anti-republican* tribunals should have been so long tolerated, as they have been, in this republican country—taking from us, almost at the pleasure of the court, our boasted right of trial by jury ; and subjecting causes of unlimited magnitude or amount—involving a man's fortune and reputation, to the decision of one man, who sits as legislator and judge—*makes* law to fit any particular case, and then judges to suit himself !

The following will serve to show the character and operations of one of those courts in England.

“ *Court of Chancery*—When Mr. Erskine was one day pressing the case of a client with great earnestness, in the court of kings' bench, lord Ellenborough, a little provoked at his perseverance,

observed to him that his client might carry his case into chancery. Has your lordship, replied Mr. Erskine, the heart to send a *fellow creature* there? The force of Mr. Erskine's observation will be understood from the case of Sir Watkin Lewis. He has a case now in the high court of chancery, that has been pending 47 years. Thirty years ago the present lord Chancellor acted as counsellor for him in the court of Exchequer. The property which he will be entitled to receive when the case is ended, is £35,000 sterling. In the meantime Sir Watkins is a prisoner for debt in the fleet prison. The last time the case was in Chancery, the noble lord told him that his *appeal* to the house of lords should be laid before the committee of appeal with all possible despatch. He has another case in the court of Exchequer, in which he has property to the amount of £75,000. About one tenth of the sum would relieve him from his embarrassments. The lives of his wife and daughter have fallen a sacrifice to the vexation of this long suit in chancery."

The English papers mention this case without any marks of censure or even surprise. The truth is, that such occurrences are too common in England to excite wonder. And yet there are people in this country who would persuade us that the English system of law, "*is the most stupendous fabrick of wisdom that was ever reared by the genius of man.*"—*Portland Argus.*

Note.—These courts most generally are called courts of *chancery*, but in some places, (probably to avoid the infamy in which many hold them by this name,) they are called courts of *equity*. I believe, however, it would often be more appropriate to denominate them courts of *chance* and *iniquity*.

Common Law.

THIS subject, is so vague, complex and unintelligible, that it would perhaps puzzle any one to define, accurately, what is generally regarded as *common law*, in this country.—

It is not written or statute law—but *custom*, chiefly grown out of the practice and decisions of British courts, to be found in their

law reports, giving particular cases and the grounds or principles on which they were decided. These are quoted in the proceedings of our courts, as precedents, rules, or authorities for guiding the decisions of similar cases. They are not, I believe, regarded as absolutely binding on our courts, but *may* be followed, as far as our judges think proper to indulge them.

These rules or law authorities, are perpetually augmenting, by the continued practice and decisions of the British courts; which, together with the practice and decisions of our federal, and highest state courts,—(which are perpetually augmenting, and form part of our common law,) make perhaps the most complicated system of laws, that any other people on the globe are subject to: and among which, something may generally be found, to serve as a precedent or authority, for almost any decision, however right, or *wrong*. It is not indeed uncommon, to have a number of these law authorities, quoted *for*, and *against*, any particular point or decision urged in our courts.

No wonder that lawyers should hail the *uncertainty* of law, as glorious for *them*; but it has indeed already proved, vexatious and ruinous for *the people*.

The importation of new law doctrines, established by the continual practice and decision of the British courts, are sought for as eagerly, by some of our law characters, as the London and Paris fashions of dress are, by our tailors, milliners and mantua makers.*

One maxim of the British law, in regard to libels, is, "*the greater the truth the greater the libel*." This infamous doctrine was absolutely cherished, for a while, by many of the *learned*, in this country. It has indeed been considered as an *indulgence*, of the court, to allow *the truth* to be given in evidence, in defence of actions brought for alleged libels. Yes, and let the fact be remembered, too.

* An Englishman, on hearing an American boast of the *Independence* of our country, said he should like to know what our independence consisted of—that he should think brother Jonathan might *go alone*, by this time, but he perceived we still followed the leading strings of mother Britain!

Nothing can be more absurd, than to suppose that laws, designed for the subjects of an old, arbitrary and corrupt monarchy, are fit examples for a young, virtuous and rising republic ; although it might be readily admitted that some of their rules are worthy of our adoption. But first let them be severally examined, and established as the laws of the land, by proper legislative authority, and published as such, before they are regarded as binding, or even as legal doctrines of our country.

It is really a common, and most dangerous assumption of power, for the judicial authority of our country, to *make* law, as well as administer it.*

Are the enemies of our liberty, gradually and artfully forming us to the rules and habits of monarchy, for their ultimate purposes ? Let republicans beware !

Complicated and intricate law systems, require *lawyers* to administer them.

The more ignorant and corrupt mankind become, the better for lawyers. But when the laws are rendered so intricate and complicated, that the common people cannot understand them, then, good by to your *liberty* !

Laws that are so complex, vague, or intricate, as to require men of extraordinary learning, or wealth, to understand and use them, were never designed for a community of republicans. They are, to all intents and purposes, *privileged* laws.

The following is an extract from JUDGE TRUMBULL'S letter, lately published in the newspapers, concerning Mr. SAMPSON'S discourse, delivered before the Historical Society, N. Y. (and published in a pamphlet,) on the origin and nature of the COMMON LAW ; and carries its own important convictions with it, to AMERICANS of common sense and experience.

"Since the establishment of our Independence, nothing can be more servile, nothing more absurd, than to consider the decisions of the Judges in Westminster Hall as precedents binding on our own courts, or entitled to any authority, but what is due to the ac-

* Chief Justice Saunders (of Britain) boasted that he made more laws than Kings, Lords and Commons.

curacy of their investigations and the force of their reasonings. We ought to abolish all those intricate forms and fictions, which we were obliged to adopt, when under the dominion of Great Britain ; to throw aside the mass of useless rubbish, with which we are encumbered ; to simplify our forms of contract, conveyances and judicial proceedings ; to reduce our law to plain, fixed and general principles, and enable our courts to do every thing by direct process, which they can now effect only by circuitous modes, and through the medium of artificial fictions, always unnecessary and often absurd and ridiculous."

The following is from the learned president COOPER, of Columbia College, South Carolina, and is extracted from his letter to Counsellor Sampson, (published in the news papers,) on the foregoing subject.

"I have read, with much interest, your lecture on law ; the public is greatly your debtor for the honest and independent view you have taken, of a system based on the ignorant notions of our half savage ancestors, and exhibiting a superstructure worthy of its origin. What business have we with a code of landed property founded on the aristocracy of the feudal system."

"Is it not a disgrace that the glorious uncertainty of the law should be verified by 1200 conflicting decisions?"

"Our common law varies in principle and in application with every change of the bench."

"Our own legislatures unwittingly combine with the lawyer to make the laws so voluminous, so wordy, so unintelligible, that they serve only to bring, not the law, but the lawyer home to every man's door. While the unwritten code of common law is any thing that the legislative propensity of the common law bench may choose to make it. Then again our servility to the English decisions in this country—to decisions made by men proverbially and contemptibly ignorant of every subject but the technics of their profession, is disgraceful to us. We seem content to remain in perpetual infancy, and venture no step out of our imported go-cart."

"I am almost inclined to think with Barlow, that when a man applies to a lawyer, he is like a hero of the eastern tales, who

boldly mounts the back of a griffin, and takes all the risks of his temerity, in complete ignorance of the course he is to be carried. Is it impossible to do as the greatest man that ever lived has done ? Is it impossible to draw up a plain code of principles, in language without verbiage, and intelligible to a plain man ? I think not. It becomes *America* at least, to try it. Uncertainty arises from conflicting principles of law, and dissonance in their application to individual cases. The first course of uncertainty we might surely get rid of; and that would be doing a great deal. A set of plain and honest legal principles and rules, would go near to establish a code of ethics.—Every man in the community would be wiser and honester for it. But then it must be drawn up with the brevity and precision of the French code ; which, imperfect as it is, yet stands an honor to the age that produced it.”

Independent Judiciary.

THE idea of having the judges of our courts, placed beyond the control of their constituents—unless for some flagrant offence, or capital violation of their official duty, is so palpably absurd, and inconsistent with our republican creed and policy, that I cannot believe the subject has been duly considered by *the people* of this republican nation.

Of *whom* are the judges to be rendered independent ? why, of their masters, the sovereign people ! But why not have legislative, executive, and all other public servants, appointed for life or during good behaviour—that they may act with *firmness*, and be INDEPENDENT of those they were appointed to serve—so that they may, in fact, look down upon the sovereign people with *contempt* !

Suppose we had a clergy, too, rendered equally permanent, or *independent* of the approbation and control, of those whom they were appointed to serve, (with or without an organized and supreme or temporal *head*,) how long would it be before the people of this country would be as miserably *dependent*, as the half enslaved people of the old world !

To day you select those considered best qualified to perform the highest judicial offices in the state—they are from forty to fifty years of age, consequently, if they were to be disqualified by death or old age, at seventy, they would have an average of twenty-five years to serve. In the mean time others might come forward and be possessed of far superior qualifications; and those in office might decline from what they were when first appointed; or when tried, their abilities and fitness for the station might prove inferior to what they were expected. And yet, according to the notion of an *independent* judiciary, the judges first appointed cannot be superseded or replaced, without being impeached and convicted of some flagrant offence, or capital deficiency, or violation of their official duty.

By a silent *vote*, the people can prefer and elect to office, whom they please, and without seriously implicating or injuring any one else—provided the right is not usurped or obstructed by despotic rules or men.

There seldom are individuals to be found, willing to take upon themselves the trouble and responsibility of bringing forward and supporting the *impeachment* of a high judicial officer, however faulty he may have proved, for there generally is powerful combinations, and efforts made to justify the most artful and corrupt offenders in such cases—from prejudice, and a variety of direct and indirect participations, and other interested motives. So that, when we duly consider the trouble, expense, delay, and final *uncertainty*, of an impeachment, it scarcely can be said to afford any remedy against the misconduct, deficiencies, and evil intentions of a high judicial officer.

An experienced lawyer, once made judge for life, or during *good behaviour*,* may generally calculate to indulge his crooked

* It would be pretty difficult to determine what was meant by "*good behaviour*," in such cases, if we may judge from the conduct of many in undisturbed possession of their judicial offices, and others who have quietly occupied the stations before them. Any thing that answers their own crooked designs, or serves the general purposes and policy of *law-craft*, especially if well managed, seems to stamp the character of an *able* judge.

policy and inclination, without much serious apprehension.—When it suits his purposes to decide according to the public opinion, he can quote *popularity* for his justification, and when he sees fit to treat the common interest and sentiments with contempt, and follow his own inclination and purposes, he can then make a virtue of his *independence*. So that the latitude for his indulgencies is sufficient to embrace every enormity.

Many people, no doubt, would be willing to act as “a judge in the land”—to exercise judicial sovereignty, without any salary, or other compensation than the mere gratification of their own personal prejudices, pique, or inclination and designs against parties and individuals ; more especially when they can be permitted to sit upon the *throne* of judgment, alone, and to send down *vengeance*, instead of justice, upon their fellow-men, without any inspection, explanation or practical and sufficient responsibility for their conduct.

In the British government, where there is *three* sources of power or political sovereignty—namely, the *king*, the *nobles*, and the *people*, it is important that the judges should be rendered free from the immediate power and control, of either—and especially of the king, who appoints them ; so that the judges may act with a degree of independence, as administrators of justice between the parties. But even in that government, the judges are removable on the address of both legislative houses.

But, in this country, where there is but *one* acknowledged source of power or political sovereignty, such an establishment as is termed an *independent* judiciary, is absurd, and highly dangerous to our best interests.

A court composed of a single judge, is much more despotic, anti-republican, and dangerous to the rights and liberties of mankind, than one composed of three or more ; because *one* man, is much easier, and of course more liable to be approached and prejudiced, or corrupted, than three or more. One man acting as sole

Says MR. JEFFERSON, in his letter to W. T. BARRY, “ *We already see the power, installed for life, responsible to no authority, (for impeachment is not even a scarecrow,) advancing with a noiseless and steady pace, to the object of consolidation.*”

judge in a case, might retain to himself, and indulge secret and base designs against a party, or individual, while it would be difficult or impracticable to influence three or more judges with the same unworthy designs, or for them safely to unite in the accomplishment. Besides, a court composed of a considerable number of judges, would be more likely to retain or include some of the common interests and feelings of justice and humanity, than a court composed of one man ; and certainly, a number of persons, can see, hear and understand, more of the evidence and proceedings before a court, than one man.

A court composed of three or more judges, would commit fewer errors, and give fewer occasions for new or second trials—often resorted to for the correction of errors occasioned by a single judge.

The proper duty and business of a judicial officer, is to administer the laws within his judicial location and capacity, and to cause them to be carried into effect, faithfully, and impartially ; and requires no more independence or sovereignty of power, for the protection of his official conduct, than that of any other office of equal magnitude. A judge is certainly nothing nigh so much exposed in his person, character or fortune, as sheriffs and constables, who execute the laws.

There is not an equal number of men in office in the United States, who are generally so *despotically* inclined, as the judges of our highest courts.

If the subject was once fairly and understandingly considered, and acted upon by *the sovereign people*, I believe they would render all the judicial offices upon a par—and, with the legislative and executive branches, make them directly subordinate to the public will, deliberately, fully, fairly and understandingly expressed.

Judicial officers, like other men, should be held accountable for the injustice and injury they occasion parties or individuals, by gross violations of their proper duty—or it should be admitted, at once, that they, like kings, *can do no wrong*.

The new and sovereign *decrees*, issued by some of our courts

or judicial officers, often excite nigh or quite as much interest in this country, as those proclaimed by emperors and kings, do in the old world.

Law-craft.

THIS crooked, quibbling, *wolf-hearted* and *self-destructive* craft or policy, in a national point of view, is preying upon the best interests of society—destroying, as it were, the very *vitals* of the republic ; and highly deserves some explanation, and attention on the part of the public.

Perhaps a volume would hardly contain all that might be appropriately detailed under this head ; I shall however only state some of the most general acts and distinguishing characters of the craft, that will not be found under other titles.

Lawyers have been so much indulged, with the power of legislating and *making* the laws, as well as in the *managing*, *pleading*, *judging*, and final *execution* thereof, that, in many places, they have formed and exercised a kind of POLITICAL INQUISITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY, over the common people ; and have finally involved human rights in such a train of litigious perplexity, vexation and *uncertainty*, as to place us pretty much at their own sovereign will and control.

Many of the *forms* of legal instruments of writing, and other law proceedings, bear ample evidence of *law-craft*, in their unnecessary intricacies, complexity and obscurity.

The following extract from the form of a deed annexed to Blackstone's commentaries on law, may serve to begin with, as a specimen of the form of one of the writings alluded to, and of those the craft generally choose to employ, wherever they are sufficiently indulged.*

* " Wilson's farm, containing by estimate five hundred and forty acres, be the same more or less, together with all and singular houses, dove houses, buildings, stables, yards, gardens, orchards, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, feedings, commons, woods, underwoods, ways, wa-

In some parts of our country, the title to real estate has been rendered so intricate, obscure and *uncertain*, as to have given employment to a profession of men, to search out the title, and make an entire new and expensive deed ; and after all the purchaser is not sure the deed conveys an actual title, until *after a given time has transpired !*

Whereas, all that is necessary to convey the title to real estate, is a simple instrument, containing a brief general description of the property, defining its bounds, quantity, and terms on which it is sold. The common appurtenances properly belonging to real estate, are generally understood. At any rate they do not require a definite description in the deed. After a deed has been signed, and the act of sale acknowledged before a proper magistrate, (in order to render the title and conveyance of real estate more permanent and secure than ordinary property,) by having the deed entered for record at the clerk's or recorder's office, *before* any other transfer, or hold of the property, has been made and there entered, (as is the custom in some places,) is a straight, practical and *sure* way to confirm a title to real estate.

Blind, or *sleeping* titles, should never be tolerated, or permitted to exist, to real estate—nor in fact, to any other kind of property : no good and sufficient reason can ever be assigned for such a practice.

Mortgages, or the pledges of real estate, in some places, are subject to quibbles, delays, and expenses, that are as unnecessary, as they are injurious to the best interests of society. There is, as they call it, a *suit for the equity of redemption*, and final *foreclosure*.

Every quibble and uncertainty may be easily avoided, by simply having the exact *conditions* of the mortgage, and the *manner*

ters, watercourses, fishing privileges, profits, casements, commodities, advantages, emoluments, hereditaments, and appurtenances whatsoever to the said capital measurage and farm belonging or appertaining, or with the same used or enjoyed, or accepted, reputed, taken or known, as part, parcel, or member thereof, or as belonging to the same or any part thereof."

of proceeding to the end, duly defined and fixed beforehand, by a uniform and definite law for the purpose.

When the legislative wisdom of a certain state was convened, and several complicated bills had been projected, for the avowed purpose of preventing the passing of bills from *unincorporated* banks, or individuals, all of which were considered insufficient ; an individual told some of the leading members, that they had only to make it penal for issuing or using *printed* bills, without a license or act of incorporation, for no other bills could be rendered sufficiently intelligible, and sure against counterfeiting, to obtain general circulation. This was allowed to be sufficient ; but it was too *plain* to suit the craft—every body could understand it ; so that they would not want any legal advice on the subject ; nor was there any blind or crooked crevice to entrap the ignorant, or to encourage the knavish to attempt to creep through or other-ways evade the law.

In settling the accounts of a deceased officer, who died nigh the close of the revolutionary war, his heirs employed lawyers, as is usual, to prepare and bring the matter before government, where, after being kept along, (as is also usual,) for several years, (in the true litigious style,) the amount of about ten thousand dollars, was finally recovered—but only about *one-sixth* of which came to the heirs—the rest was claimed by the managers, as their own charges and expenses in procuring the settlement !

How many of our *soldiers* have been unrighteously, and unnecessarily kept out of their pay, or bounty lands, for several years, and thus exposed to sharpers on the way to justice ? the payment of *pensions* embarrassed, or delayed, for the purpose of feeing lawyers, or indulging sharpers ?

The settlement of deceased persons estates, in many places, is subject to the same kind of robbery, vexation and delay.*

And yet, the principal authors and managers of these frauds, vexations and cruelties, have the hypocrisy and impudence to boast of their regard for the patriots of our revolution, and for the faith-

* See the last clause of WASHINGTON'S *will*, by which he endeavoured to guard against the *snare*s and *fangs* of law-craft.

ful soldiers of our country generally, and style themselves, the friends and protectors of the widow and orphan.

When, and wherever the common road to justice is thus usurped, or infested with robbers, who study to render the way *dark, hazardous and expensive*, that they may the more readily embarrass, detain and plunder the passengers therein, it is high time the guardians of justice and public safety, should attend to their duty—clear and protect the road to justice.

Instead of applying our ingenuity, time, and capital, to *useful* purposes; if mankind would direct their talents and enterprise, to schemes of fraud and villainy, how much better it would be for lawyers, since every transgression generally brings a job or two for them?

Those who are taken for forgery, passing counterfeit money, robbery, theft, swindling, and a variety of criminal and other offences, generally give most of the money they have wronged others of, to the lawyers they employ to facilitate their evasion of justice; and the lawyers employed against them, on the part of government, or individuals, get another fee; so that lawyers certainly have a powerful interest in the multiplication and increase of criminal and other offences.*

If only the *malicious*, and *unnecessary suits*, that are brought, together with the *unnecessary delays, vexations and expences*, that are indulged in other suits, were properly punished, discouraged and finally prevented, more than one half of the ordinary business and gains of lawyers, would cease.

It was the opinion of Lord North, that the amount or value of all the cases decided by lawsuits, in England, fell short of the charges and general expences—that law suits, generally, cost more

* How much more profit would lawyers generally derive, from setting ingenious men by the ears—in exciting and keeping them at war with each others rights and best good—in exhausting their time, talents and property in lawsuits and vexatious disputes about their rights, reputations or other concerns, more than they would derive by the harmony, and united co-operations of such characters, in useful undertakings, and in ultimately promoting the general good?

than they come to—owing to the ruinous quibbles, delays and expences, indulged.

No wonder that *perjury* should be excited, and its punishment connived at, or finally evaded, since the use and gains of lawyers is promoted by every increase of human depravity, and the *intricacy* of examining witnesses, and of every thing else that relates to law proceedings.

Ambiguous and obscure terms, often used in law proceedings, are extremely absurd and perplexing; for certainly every thing that concerns the public, should be given in the plainest language.

The craft are extremely fond of resorting to what they term *special* pleadings; causing new or *second* trials; and of trying *questions* of law; in which they often display a prodigious sight of "*law knowledge*," and *perseverance*.

In their perseverance, lawyers sometimes put one in mind of the cunning of the old squaw; who had a bottle of rum put into her hands to take a mouthful, just to *hold* in her mouth to allay the agonies of the tooth ache, when, after letting a number of mouthfuls of the exhilarating liquor slip down her throat, in her pretended efforts to *hold* one, she exclaimed, with extacy, "*I clare! I'll TRY TWENTY TIMES but that I make um stick!*"

Lawyers often plan out a good many fine jobs for themselves, by trying *questions* of law, *at other peoples expense!* (I here enter my solemn protest against *legislating* at the expense of *individuals*. If there is any parts, points or passages of law, that require interpretation or improvement, let them be referred back to proper legislative authority, and there discussed and settled at the *public* expense; and duly promulgated or made public *as law*, before they are rendered binding.)

There has lately been one mighty *question* of law going the rounds of discussion, between the state of *Virginia*, and the *Co-hens*, lottery brokers, which I shall here briefly notice.

This question, involves an absurdity, too common in legislation, of government, expressly instituted for the PROTECTION of the people against fraud and evil temptations, *licensing*, by special acts, a species of gambling, and not of the least pernicious

kind, especially as lotteries and the *sale* of tickets, are usually conducted, of late years.

The following is the case referred to:—The *tickets* of a lottery, licensed by congress, in their acts of legislation for the internal government of the district of Colombia—whether they can be sold in any of the states, against an express law thereof—when congress have no delegated authority to grant lotteries, even in their capacity of legislators for the general government of the United states, but which right is reserved to the states, and is by them exercised.

The acts of congress, in their capacity of legislators for the internal government of the district of Colombia, have no more authority, certainly, than a single state acting in unison with the general government; and nobody can pretend that such an authority could annul the political sovereignty of the individual States.

If it were possible for congress to get at an object in this way, without any express authority, and against the usages of the several states, why then, the little district of Columbia might serve as a place to fix their *fulcrum* upon, and upset the sovereignty of every state in the union, under pretext of legislating for the internal government of the said district. Horse-racing, cock-fighting, bull-bating, pugiling, farrobanks, billiard tables, wheels of fortune, brothels, in fact almost every kind of gambling, lewdness, and barbarity, might be licensed throughout the union, by congress, in their acts of legislation for the internal government of the little district, however hostile to the laws and well being of the several states.

The agitation and progress of this "*law question*," has probably been productive of considerable *employment* and profit to some of the craft. But are men who agitate and prolong such quibbling, worthy of public confidence and employ?

The fact is, the craft are so strongly interested in having ignorant and corrupt citizens, and intricate, complicated and expensive law systems and proceedings, that but few of the profession of lawyers, it is feared, are real and sincere republicans. Like the ecclesiastical inquisitors and confessors of the old world, they

derive so much power and profit from the ignorance and depravity of mankind, that they are strongly inclined to foster the sources of their gains and advantages, under some shift or pretext.

At one time, this *craft* seemed chiefly devoted to an *energetic* policy—the masters of which, were the principal contrivers and arbiters of an unequal, oppressive, cruel and relentless system, favourable to the learned, rich, haughty and overbearing, and oppressive and ruinous to the common people.

When this became so odious and unpopular as to be no longer practicable, upon an open and general scale, from the increased information, power and influence of the common people, the craft then professed to turn round and embrace more just, liberal and enlightened views of public policy, (many turned *editors*!) but hypocritically became the chief plotters and managers of a loose, profligate, shuffling, or *swindling* policy—favourable to rogues—exciting and facilitating defalcations, bankruptcies, frauds and other offences, of almost every description, to the very great injury and discouragement of honest industry, integrity and fair dealing, and to public usefulness generally—in order to *lead* mankind into a state of depravity, inequality and insecurity, that would aid, and seem to justify the necessity of an arbitrary system of government.

This policy and conduct, has progressed so far already, in many places, that good men almost tremble for their existence, from the numerous temptations and facilities offered for the violation of common justice, and human privileges. Such indeed are the facilities for evading final justice, offered in many instances, that the honest creditor lies at the will of the debtor. He who holds the property of another on trust, or owes him money, has the advantage of the contract, as he can do pretty much as he pleases about fulfilling the obligation, or have it finally *annulled*, by a fictitious surrender of his property, under some act of bankruptcy, insolvency, or other quirk of law. Although it is plain, that neither the states or general government have the power invested in them to invalidate, or finally annul the *obligation of contracts*, after they have been once honestly and faithfully entered into.

Government may, and ought, always to protect the person, and even property, of an honest debtor, from any unnecessary cost, waste, injury, violence or injustice, offered by his creditor ; and they should especially exonerate the *body* of debtors from imprisonment, unless they had conducted dishonestly, to merit corporeal *punishment*.

Had our states or general government the power to materially invalidate or finally annul the obligation of contracts, honestly and faithfully entered into between individuals, without any fault of the parties, what a corrupt and dangerous power and influence would they have ? Suppose the leaders of government should be engaged in an unpopular and disastrous war, and, in order to raise forces and supplies, they should decree to *absolve* certain individuals from their honest and legal contracts, engagements or penalties, on condition of their enlisting into the service of government, or of their paying a proportionate or stipulated sum into the public treasury or hands of the said rulers.—Such, for instance, as exonerating debtors from the obligation to pay the money they justly owe ; the obligation of apprentices to fulfil their indentures ; husbands, from the validity of their marriage compacts ; slaves, from the law that holds them in perpetual and ignominious bondage ; and perhaps criminal and other convicts and offenders, from the penalties and punishments which awaits them, on condition of their serving the leaders, as before stated ?

What a host of “ *choice spirits*,” could there be collected in this way ! and for the basest purposes ! The human senses shudder at the very thoughts of such a power, and its ultimate consequences.

The following exhibits some precious evidences of *law-craft*, as it existed in the time of our divine Saviour and his apostles :

“ *Beware of the scribes, which love to go in long clothing, and love salutations in the market places. And the chief seats in the synagogues, and the uppermost rooms at feasts. Which devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers. Woe unto, also, ye lawyers ! for ye laid men with burdens grievous to be borne, ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers. Woe unto you, lawyers ! for ye have taken away the key of*

knowledge : and as he said these things unto them, the scribes and the Pharisees began to urge him vehemently, and to provoke him to speak of many things : laying wait for him, and seeking to catch something out of his mouth, that they might accuse him."

To rely upon *such* characters, and their standard, for PROTECTION, would be the height of absurdity. Even to resist them in *their own way*, under such circumstances, would be riveting the shackles tighter, by *increasing* their wealth and intolerable power. Far better to suffer injustice, in the first instance, than contend in *law* for our rights, while knaves and tyrants control their operations.

Hence our Saviour told his disciples and followers, under their then existing circumstances,

"If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also."

That is, try to *shame* him out of his meanness and rapacity, or overcome his greediness by giving more than he even demands—appeal to the dictates of human nature—not to the hypocritical artifices of human policy and corruption : Hazard a temporary sacrifice for a lasting betterment of condition—almost any thing, rather than appeal to the *enemies* of truth and common justice, and be judged by *them*.

Here may be seen some of the *tricks* and *terrors* of LAW-CRAFT, as they were practiced of old ; and particularly as they were employed to harrass and destroy the first *Christian* teachers and their disciples and followers, especially those who had the virtue and courage to expose the hypocritical, corrupt and oppressive policy and conduct of public rulers.

The same *craft* was employed to defeat the good cause of liberty or *self-government*, as the spirit of inquiry began to manifest itself in this country before our revolution, and particularly to terrify and crush those who had the virtue and courage to remonstrate against the unjust, oppressive and cruel policy and conduct of our public masters. And again, the same wicked and destructive *craft* was busily employed against our democratic reformers of '98 ; and the *tricks* and *terrors* employed by judges, lawyers, and sheriffs, were particularly designed to ruin those who had the

honesty and firmness to maintain the righteous cause of liberty and equal justice, in opposition to the hypocritical, unjust, oppressive and ruinous course, of public rulers.

Thus, the fathers of CHRISTIANITY; the founders of the first practical and definite system of SELF-GOVERNMENT; the first and most efficient promoters of human improvement; and indeed the friends and benefactors of mankind generally, have experienced more or less of the *tricks* and *terrors* of this wicked and destructive craft or policy, practised by judges, lawyers, and others concerned in the abuse of court authorities—who often prove themselves the very *wolves* and *vultures* of society.

After all these examples and warnings, is it possible that we have no tribunal or authority established, to rescue a man from the *fangs* of the craft, or the all-grasping power of *lawyers*?

As to our boasted “right of *trial by jury*,” I confess I hardly know what it means, as it is practised, unless it be the decision of such points or *parts* of particular cases, as the judges may assign them, and according to the evidence and rules dictated, prescribed and controlled by the court. This limited and restricted part that juries are *permitted* to act in the “hearing” and decision of certain cases, bears very little security in a man’s general concerns, against the united and almost unbounded management and control of judges and lawyers, in their court and government transactions.

However destructive and alarming their policy and conduct, who can say a word openly against these knights of *craft* and *terror*, without bringing himself right into their *fangs*, *racks* and *tortures*?

While we permit lawyers to exercise most of the public authorities, they will be able to *prevent* the establishment and operation of any tribunal or power, that would rescue their intended victims.

The following is a modern sample of the work and designs of the *craft*, from a *London paper*:

“The late investigation into Lord Portsmouth’s soundness of mind cost seven hundred pounds a day—in the whole amount Twenty Thousand Pounds! Mr. Hanson has declared his inten-

tion to traverse the inquisition. Should he succeed, after proceeding at the like rate of expense, the result will still be the same ; for if he should be ultimately declared competent to *manage his own property*, the lawyers will by that time have left him *no property to manage !*"

Samples of Law-Craft. No. 1.

THE notorious murderer, John Johnson, who was hanged November, 1823, in the city of New-York—when he was arraigned at the bar of the court to plead—(that is, to say whether he was guilty, or not guilty, of the said murder, as found and filed against him, by the grand jury—a matter of form, especially in this case, after the fact had been established beyond all manner of doubt, by the culprit's own *confession*, substantiated by a number of irresistible facts and circumstances)—the prisoner was going to renew his former confession and acknowledgment of the fact, and "*plead guilty*," but was "CHECKED BY THE COURT !" (true to the interest and policy of their brethren of the *craft*—the offence must not be acknowledged—but denied, and justice resisted to the last, no matter what excitements it may hold out to the injury of society, nor what unnecessary trouble and expenses are occasioned to the public or individuals—the craft must have *their game* !) who recommended him to "*take the advice of counsel*." After this, we need not be surprised that the criminal, (by the aid and advice—most probably by the *persuasion* of his lawyer or counsel,) when again brought to the court to plead, "*boldly said, I am not guilty*." And even after his trial and formal conviction, when the court asked him what he had to say why sentence should not be passed upon him for the said murder, he said "*he was not the man*,"* Thus, if possible, aggravating his crimes before Heaven and Earth !

* The principal and leading facts in this case, are quoted from New-York papers, and are presumed to be without error.

Is it possible, that *prompters* to villainy should not only be tolerated, but actually endowed with special privileges and advantages to aid in the excitement and escape of criminal and other offenders!

We here see what took place in open day before the public; but what may not be apprehended to be done in secret to harden and encourage criminal and other offenders, and to facilitate their evasion of justice, by the *aid and advice of such interested and indulged counsellors!*

In the examination of the accounts of public agents, in 1822, by certain determined and active members of congress, for the purpose of detecting corruption, and of effecting a retrenchment of the national expenditures, it was ascertained, among other things, that the attorney general had made separate and additional charges for his professional services to the general government, over and above his salary, (which is \$3,500 a year.) Among which was one charge of *more than a thousand dollars*, (the exact sum is not now recollected,) for his services in trying the mail robbers at Baltimore. The matter was referred to a committee, (the chairman of which was a brother *lawyer!*) who, (I dare say after a learned and laborious investigation of the subject,) eased off with a report *favorable* to the said charges.

If lawyers have such enormous gains to expect from the trial of criminal and other offenders, is it not reasonable to conclude that they secretly desire and aid their increase, by artfully holding out evil temptations, and by encouraging and assisting resistance to justice? If such, in fact, are their interests and policy, are they a safe set of men to entrust with the making and administration of laws, for the actual suppression of criminal and other offenders? and finally promoting the general peace, harmony, security, prosperity and happiness of the people of this republican community?

The *commissions* of one lawyer, in settling the late Spanish claims, amounted to about *seventy thousand dollars!*

If lawyers have such mighty gains to expect from national depredations, and from tedious, intricate and obscure modes of adjustment, would it be reasonable to suppose that they would exert themselves, in any capacity, honestly and sincerely to

promote a plain and direct course—for instance, the establishment of a definite and efficient CODE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, to govern the transactions and general concerns between nations? and to adjust and settle individual claims?

The law expences made the state of New-York, about their poor, for 1823 (mostly, if not all, unnecessary,) was stated at TWENTY ODD THOUSAND DOLLARS!

A certain lawyer got a fortune of SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS! in settling the estate of a deceased person!

Can it be possible that these things should be noticed by an intelligent and reflecting mind, without seeing their awful consequences, and particularly to the people of this country!

When Cataline's treasonable conspiracy against Rome was publicly investigated, a *lawyer* was anxious to manage the case against the traitor, with the secret intention of *facilitating his escape!* but CICERO, who saw through the *craft*, would not permit him.

Lawyers are very fond of claiming CICERO as a model of their profession; but he was an advocate for himself, his friends, and his country: not a tool to be hired to aid and assist rogues in the evasion of justice, nor to rob, persecute or oppress honest men.

CICERO was governed by the noble principles of justice, patriotism, and honour. And I am glad to perceive that we have some such characters at the present day: but it must be owned that they are *above* the general policy and example of their profession.

Suppose the laws were rendered so *intricate, complicated*, and vague or difficult to be understood, that no body, without the aid or advice of a *lawyer*, could safely transact any considerable business—that is, convey or receive, a good and valued title to real estate, or make any other considerable contract, or instrument of writing, that should be considered as legally binding; or enforce the fulfilment of a contract, or the collection of a debt, or resist a gross and palpable fraud; or, in fact, *use* the laws, any way, so as to possess and enjoy our own rights and privileges: and suppose, too, they should shackle the press, so that nobody but a thorough bred lawyer could write a paragraph for a newspaper, without *wording* it so as to be subject to some legal quibble or penalty—where then would be our boasted rights and liberties!

Samples of Lawcraft, No. 2.

AMONG the various little cunning and artifices, employed by unprincipled and designing lawyers to effect their crooked policy and designs, there is perhaps none openly practised, which is more detestable in principle, and pernicious in its general example and consequences, than their studied efforts to bring *passion* against *reason*—to excite levity, laughter, and make *fun*, or to provoke treachery and *malice*, as best calculated to defeat cool and dispassionate truth, justice and reason.—Well knowing that in proportion as *passion* takes the reins, reason looses its influence over mankind.

This base and inhuman *craft*—which makes *game* and *spoil* of the rights, liberties and happiness of fellow beings, is sometimes particularly manifested in their transactions in legislative assemblies, and often in managing cases before courts, juries, common magistrates, and in their political and other discussions generally, both verbal and written.

Parties, witnesses, juries and public assemblies, are often most perniciously affected by these degrading arts.

More than half the trials that have actually taken place in our courts, may be fairly imputed to the little cunning and artifices of this hypocritical and detestable *craft*.

The *frivolous* and *angry* passions that have been purposely engendered and kept alive in our political and other public discussions, by the arts and agencies of this infernal *craft*, have already inflicted serious wounds and injuries on the people and government of this country.

It seems quite astonishing, when we duly reflect on this subject, that the dignity and real object of a tribunal of justice, legislative assembly, and in fact any body of men convened for sober investigation, reflection, discussion, and decision, should be thus trifled with and their real object defeated, by a few litigious and political *jugglers*, *blackguards*, and *bullies*.

During the session of the N. Y. legislature at Albany, spring of 1825, they were petitioned to establish a definite and distinct

code of law—suitable to the general understanding and wants of the people—a more important subject for the good of *the people*, certainly was never brought before that Assembly, nor one which was probably more at variance with the policy and designs of many of its members. Some of the members of the Assembly, it is said, affected to be mightily *tickled* on the occasion—*laughed* a good deal, and seemed to make *fun* of the subject—the people's good; so that the petition could hardly be said to have had a moment's sober consideration, by the House.

A communication in a New-York city paper, sometime after, in reference to a contemplated meeting of "*the bar*," to devise, or advise, some improvement or alteration in the organization, arrangement or operation of state courts, professedly to prevent unnecessary and grievous *delays* of justice, complained of; the writer of which, seemed to congratulate the *craft*, by noticing that the man of *fun* would be there, at the notified meeting—meaning, I conclude, that there would be an artful effort to make *fun* of this important subject. (How cunning some folks are—nobody can see through their policy!)

In regard to the delays of justice, before noticed, it has been estimated by "*the bar*" at Albany, in their memorial to the legislature of the state of New-York, (spring of 1825,) that the amount of expenses on suits pending for trial and not reached on the docket of the Supreme court, was the rate of a fraction over \$55,000 a year; and that an equal amount similarly occurs in the court of chancery:—making together the gross sum of *one hundred and eleven thousand dollars* a year, taxed on the parties waiting for trial in these two courts, by the *delays* of justice!

This is certainly a remarkable acknowledgment to come from *lawyers*, who are probably the sole cause of the evil, and certainly the profession most benefitted by the unnecessary perplexities and delays of justice.

The following piece is from the N. Y. Statesman, of May 10th, 1825; signed *An Observer*, and is highly illustrative of one branch of law-craft:

"*Administration of Justice*.—The subject of our laws, has lately excited that attention which so interesting a topic is always entitled to. That they are not adequate to the wants of the commu-

nity, no person will deny ; and that the proceedings of our courts are not only dilatory, but expensive, will be as generally admitted. To ascertain the cause of an evil, is always an important step towards its removal ; and I therefore propose to give your readers some account of the *difficulty* and *delay*, and consequently *the expense* attending the administration of justice.

These originate in several causes. *First*, from the multiplicity of the forms of actions—that is, from the great diversity which prevails in the *sort* of action it is necessary to bring, for the various claims which arise in our intercourse with each other. *Secondly*, from the *nicety* required in the pleadings ; and *thirdly*, from the various shifts which are resorted to in practice, for the purpose of delay, and which are tolerated by our courts. In the “*Natoræ Brevium*,” a book which our English ancestors have compiled, for the purpose of providing a remedy for every injury, there are given perhaps forty or fifty different forms of writs, which may be considered as so many various actions. Every one of these must be drawn with nice and technical distinctions. And in the subsequent proceedings, or the pleadings which are to follow, the same nicety and distinction must be pursued, or the parties are liable to be defeated in their action, on the ground of informality.

To exemplify the nature of these niceties, the following example is given :

In instituting a real action, which is an action for the recovery of land, the writs are of various kinds, according to the nature of the claim ; this variety, originating wholly in the peculiarity of the laws of England, relating to descents. Some of these actions are said to be of a *higher nature* than others, and if a demandant, or person claiming real estate, should happen by mistake, as to the legal nature of his claim, to bring an action of a higher nature for its recovery, and should fail in it, he never could bring another. He must therefore, in order to proceed with safety, first bring an action of a lower nature, that he may, according to the requisition of the law, if he fail in it, afterwards bring a higher. And thus he may have occasion to bring several actions before he can obtain his right.

In personal actions, those for instance, which are for the recov-

ery of debts or damages, the same variety prevails as in real actions. Thus we have actions arising ex contract, or ex dilicto, the one sort being founded upon contracts, and the other for wrongs independently of contracts.

Actions upon contract are again divided into actions of *account*, *assumpsit*, *covenant*, *debt*, *annuity*, and *scire facias*.

Actions for wrongs, independently of contract, are *case*, *detinue*, *replevin*, and *vi et armis*. These are all only general names, and in many of them when we come to state the particular origin of the claim, either on contract, or for wrongs. We have actions upon actions, of as many different names as the ingenuity and invention of lawyers, have been enabled to devise distinctions and divisions. And the evil of all this is, that each requires peculiarities and particularities, in the form of the proceedings, that the least mistake in, would prove fatal to the party. When the plaintiff comes to state his action, he is obliged to resort to the expedient of telling his story in a half dozen different ways, and all perhaps variant from the truth, in order that if he miss formality in one, he may perhaps hit in another. For the extraordinary part of the system is, that if his story be ever so true, yet if he has not told it, in set forms and phrases, he cannot be listened to.

The better to make my readers understand this subject, (for I do not write for lawyers,) I will define what the profession understand by pleadings. These are the written statements of the parties to a suit. The plaintiff's statement of his cause of action, is called *the declaration*, and the defendant's answer to this statement, is called *the plea*. When the plaintiff has made his statement, the defendant pleads or answers; and these answers are as multifarious and as crooked in their structure, and indeed more so, than the plaintiff's declarations.

He may plead to the *Jurisdiction* of the court; to the *person* of the plaintiff or defendant; to the court; to the writ, either to its *form*, or to its *substance*; and lastly to the action itself. I will not puzzle the reader by entering into an explanation of these technical distinctions. It may be sufficient to say, that they all originate in the different grounds which the defendant may have

it in his power to offer, to prevent a recovery in the action ; and the only one which has relation to the *merits* of the controversy, is generally the last.

To all these pleas again, the plaintiff has a right to answer. And he may answer, either as to the form or to the *substance* of the plea. The first of these is called a *demurrer* ; the second a replication. To every plea interposed by the defendant, and to every subsequent answer of either party to the pleading of the other, the right exists to plead or demur, and this goes on if the parties think necessary, (I was going to say almost ad infinitum,) but at any rate to a considerable extent. There may always be a demurrer as to the *form* of the pleading ; and this must be argued and determined, before another answer can be given. And if it be determined, against the party whose pleading is demurred to, he is obliged to answer again ; and again he may be demurred to, and so on continually. Some of these pleadings, are expressly invented for purposes of delay, and are therefore in a legal phrase called *dilatory pleas*. Others are invented, for they seem to have no other object, to embarrass the parties. Some are for the purpose of putting the plaintiff out of court, however just a ground of action he may have, and thereby subjecting him to the cost of suit, and compelling him to begin again. And in real actions especially, so many and such expedients of this sort may be resorted to, that as the practice now stands, with the delays incident to the multiplicity of causes in our Supreme Court, a suit might very easily be protracted for seven years. We could easily demonstrate this, did the limits we have assigned ourselves in this communication permit ; but it would take some time to make it intelligible to an ordinary reader.

We are aware of many things, that professional men may urge, in favor of much of the "legal lore" above referred to : We confess however, for ourselves, that we consider the whole system of special pleading, as little better than chicanery, and as having its origin in petty verbal distinction, and the arts of ingenious but wicked men, to aid the cause of their clients at the expense of justice.


It is this which has brought the science as well as the *practice*

of the law into disrepute ; and so long as its professors shall continue to uphold the system, in opposition to the reason, the intelligence, and the enlarged views, which are beginning to obtain in our country, they must expect to be identified with its character. A little reflection, and some consequent exertion, on the part of professional men, might soon render the system tolerable. And I sincerely believe it would be not only a creditable circumstance, but would, in the end, subserve their interests, to do away the mystery of the art, and to substitute substance in the place of form. In our laws we have left the one for the other, and the professional lawyer, from habit and education, can think of justice only as she is clothed in technical forms. It would be easy to substitute proceedings which would answer the ends of justice quite as effectually as the present. In the court of chancery, a single statement of his case on the part of the plaintiff, and a single statement of the defence, on the part of the defendant, is found abundantly sufficient for all the purposes of justice. Why not adopt the same course in the proceedings in our courts, and thus get rid at once of all the delays and expenses which attends this endless and useless special pleadings ? What lawyer ever thought of looking into the pleadings in a cause with any other view, than of referring his opponent to the *legal rights* he had entitled himself to, by the forms of his proceedings ? The merits of the cause, lie *dehors* the record. While the suitors are only looking to the *facts*, their advocates are fighting under legal forms : And I appeal to the practitioner himself, whether the influence he is under, while exerting himself in behalf of his client, is not half derived from a consciousness of the advantage he has from the rules of pleading.

But it is to our citizens at large that we are to look for aid on the present occasion. Let them unanimously lift their voice in favour of a code of laws ; and of a modification of legal proceedings. Let them demand from the legislature an attention to their *rights* as citizens, and to their *interests* as social beings, and we shall have nothing to fear from the *profession*. Without disparagement of their influence, and without a wish but that they may ennoble a science worthy of their charge, I would wish these professional gentlemen to believe that I am influenced by no hostility to them

in any thing I have offered on this subject. I respect them, as I respect every class of our citizens. The good they shall do will be spoken to their praise, and the evil only to their dishonour."

The following advertisement, (cut out of the Watertown Independent Republican,) exhibits some of the *instruments* for the exercise of law-craft, in the state of New York :

 *The following BLANKS are kept constantly for sale at this office :*

DECLARATIONS on Mutuatus—and Judgment rolls.

Declaration on Notes

On Notes payable to bearer.

On notes indorsed.

First indorsee *v.* 1st indorser.

Second indorsee *v.* drawer.

Second indorsee *v.* 2d indorser.

Third indorsee *v.* 1st, 2d, or 3d indorser.

Money counts.

Merchandise sold, work and labour, or use and occupation,
and money counts.

Merchandise sold, and money counts.

Narr. Work, goods sold, acct. stated money counts.

Plea non-assumpsit, payment and notice of set-off.

Narr. on a bail bond.

Narr. bond on a debt. Oyer.

Narr. debt on recognizance of bail.

Narr. in slander.

Insolvent papers, and Affidavits.

Bills of cost in Supreme Court.

Capias, Supreme and Common Pleas.

Fi. fa. in debt, do. do.

Fi. fa. in case, do. do.

Test. fi. fa. in debt. do. do.

Test. fi. fa. in case, do. do.

Ca. sa. in debt, do. do.

Ca. sa. in case, do. do.

Test. ca. sa. in debt, do. do.

Test. ca. sa. in case, do. do.

Subp's, and Venires, do. do.

Bail bonds, do. do.

Subpoena tickets.

Licences to tavern keepers.

A writer in Noah's New York National Advocate, of October 1st, 1825, who signs himself *A Lawyer*; in advocating the justice and importance of examining the qualifications and conduct of our *judges*, as well as other public servants; says that, "in the code lately adopted in the state of Louisiana, which was prepared by Mr. Livingston, we find an express article on this point.—After a cause, whether civil or criminal, is decided, it shall be lawful for any one by printing, and in writing, as well as by speech, to discuss the reasons of any judgment, order or decree, given in the course of any such suit or prosecution, and to call in question the legality or propriety of the same."

From this it would seem that the common freedom and right of discussing and giving opinions on the conduct of public servants, was *denied*, in that of the chief officers of our *courts*! A pretty extraordinary case, to be sure, and one well worthy of the particular attention of the *sovereign people*!

Unprincipled and designing lawyers, like monarchists and aristocrats, have studied to render a knowledge of the laws, professedly designed for the guide and protection of mankind, and the administration thereof, a complex, intricate and distinct *science*, known only to themselves and a few who have studied the same as a profession; and chiefly in order to exclude all who have not thoroughly studied this profession or science, from *offices* of any considerable trust or profit!

If all our complex, obscure and absurd systems of law were judiciously revised, or a definite and distinct *code* provided, so that every man of good common sense and information, might understand and *use* the laws for their own guide, and protection, *unprincipled* lawyers would soon find miserable picking, in this country. This they probably well know, and therefore seem determined to embarrass, pervert and defeat every effort for *improving the road to justice*. Like the haughty and corrupt tyrants of the

old world, they seem resolved to throw every obstacle in the way most to baffle the progress of genuine civilization, and to yield nothing but to absolute force.

The Interest and Duty of Freemen.

WE are generally too much in the habit of *puffing* great men, or those possessed of considerable fame, influence or authority, and of concealing their real faults. This cowardly, hypocritical and *sycophantic* course of policy and conduct, is a shameful and dangerous deviation from our duty, both as Christians and republicans.

Many of our pretended biographies, are mere eulogies. Their subjects are prodigies, or all perfection from their very birth.

FRANKLIN wrote his own history, and candidly admitted his faults and errors—which he studied to retrieve and amend. It would be important for mankind if all histories had been written with as much candor and faithfulness.

The best friends and benefactors of mankind, denounce the errors of those from whose conduct and examples we generally have the most to apprehend.

The founder of Christianity, and its first faithful teachers, plainly told the *faults* of men in power. Witness the following bold declaration of Jesus Christ:—

“Beware of the scribes, which love to go in *long clothing*, and *love salutations in the market places*. And the *chief seats* in the synagogues, and the *uppermost rooms at feasts*. Which *devour widows' houses*, and FOR A PRETEXT *make long prayers*. Wo also, unto ye *lawyers* ! for ye LADE MEN WITH HEAVY BURDENS *grievous to be borne*, ye YOURSELVES *touch not the burdens with one of your fingers*. Wo unto you *lawyers* ! for ye have TAKEN AWAY THE KEY OF KNOWLEDGE !”

Look also to the declaration of American Independence, and there see what the fathers of republican justice and humanity, told our unjust and despotic rulers.

Some, from fear and cowardice, and others from a treacherous

policy and design, flatter and fawn round those in possession of considerable *influence*, wealth, or authority.

Error becomes dangerous, in proportion as the source from which it emanates, is elevated.

We should habituate ourselves, freely to examine the policy and conduct of public servants, as truly becomes the proprietors and actual *sovereigns* of this vast and improving country.

I probably entertain my due share of respect and esteem, for the illustrious individuals who have been chief-magistrates of this nation. Yet they were fallible beings, like ourselves.

WASHINGTON, can scarcely be said to have had a public fault. If, in the wane of life, those who enjoyed his confidence as friends, undertook to deceive him, and to use his good and great name as a cloak to their evil designs and purposes, it was no fault of the man.

His good sense—honesty, wisdom and general *consistency* of conduct and character, most contributed to his unparalleled excellence.

The elder president ADAMS, although ardent in the cause of our *independence*, was, it is believed, by constitution, education and habit, rather inclined to aristocracy. Discipline, however, probably brought him right at last.

JEFFERSON, with all his goodness of mind, philanthropy, consistency, and regard for republican justice and *equality*, lately headed a petition to congress for exempting from the common importing duties, classical books for the promotion of *extra* learning.

MADISON'S *pardoning* about forty *pirates* at one batch, after they had been taken, tried, and duly convicted, at New Orleans; and some other weaknesses or indulgences of nighly the same character, probably led to much, if not most of the late piracy. The late war, blundered and lingered under incompetent leaders, until the people got roused to their public dangers and took a degree of their national concerns into their own private hands.

MONROE, in addition to some of his predecessors *pardoning* weaknesses; has been endeavouring, (though probably with good intentions,) to do away *party*—which is as necessary for the pre-

servation of free government, as bile is to that of the human body. His "*cra of good feelings*," or general TRUCE of *party vigilance and inspection*, (the forerunner of numerous and immense public defalcations and delinquences of duty,) let the enemy into the very heart of the republic, and so confused and confounded right and wrong, friends and foes, profession and practice, that it has become extremely difficult, without long and critical inspection, to tell what a man's political principles are, or whether, in fact, he *has* any principles or established rule of conduct.

Notwithstanding the numerous, loud and glorious *sounds*—it is the opinion of some, that the SUBSTANCE of real republicanism, was probably never more fatally declining among us, than at the present day : And that this is manifested, chiefly by the neglect of duly *educating* the common people—their growing ignorance and political apathy, resulting from their want of adequate intelligence and instruction on subjects of general interest and concern, and their consequent neglect or misdirection of personal attention thereto—while the most extraordinary exertions are making to promote the *extra* education, elevation and interests of a privileged *few*, and mainly at the expense and degradation of the many ; the introduction and prevalence of frivolous, effeminating, hypocritical, demoralizing and corrupting fashions, manners and customs, favorable to the existence and growth of aristocracy—right from their fashionable hotbeds in Europe ; the growing dread and contempt of every thing that truly bears the name of honesty and public usefulness, and the consequent schemes and efforts to get a living without work, and to make fortunes by pernicious speculations, "*tricks in trade*," corporation and other swindling, and the like *spoils* on the common virtue and industry of the country ; the increase of pauperism, begging and spunging, under a variety of hypocritical and frivolous pretexts, tending to check the growth and exercise of manly, self-dependent feelings and actions, and to bring the common people into a kind of cringing, fawning dependence on the *few*, more wealthy, influential and powerful ; and, above all, the alarming multiplication and increase of criminal and other offences, with the various and detestable excitements thereto, and the growing facilities and exertions to evade good and wholesome justice. All tending, most

powerfully, to promote the ignorance, inequality, delusion, poverty, *depravity and downfall of a virtuous and free people.*

It is certainly to be feared, that the vigilance and enquiry that was awakened at the latter part of the last century, into the *principles and actions* of public men, and to the *MEASURES* of government generally, is sinking into apathy, and finally yielding up to a low, hypocritical, *local, personal*, degrading and ruinous policy.

General Policy and Fruits of a System of Bankruptcy.

THE British government have done a great deal to recruit and support the rotten cause of monarchy and aristocracy in their country, by a system of BANKRUPTCY ; which is of itself a *privileged* law—exciting and promoting commercial *gambling and swindling*—tending to impoverish and corrupt the *middling*, most republican, worthy and useful class of people in society ; and at the same time producing *desperate* characters—fit instruments to carry on the corrupt and cruel work and designs of arbitrary government.

The holy inquisition, and religious despotisms of the old world generally, have been served by bankrupts—men rendered desperate in fortune and character, in promoting their dark and infamous designs and purposes.

“ *Misery loves company ;*” and when one man is ruined in fortune or character, he generally becomes a fit instrument in the hands of knaves and tyrants, for promoting the misery and destruction of others.

A law in this country, to promote *bankruptcy* among merchants and traders, must have essentially the same effect in the end.

One would imagine, there would be merchants and traders enough for the good of society, without granting them any extra privileges or indulgences.

If merchants and traders would be honest—hazard nothing for their own benefit but what was actually their own property, and properly secure the amount of risks they are unable to bear them-

selves, by insurance against the dangers of fire, and of the seas, there would in general be no more necessity for their failure, than of farmers and mechanics. All of whom are liable to have their property injured or destroyed, by fire, tornadoes, drought, vermin, pestilence, and a variety of calamities and misfortunes. And, if any of them injudiciously trust out their property; enter into hazardous speculations, or any way encounter foolish risks, they are liable to lose their property and be cast upon the world poor, or in destitute circumstances. But what then, are we not bound, in perfect justice and humanity, to have, at least as much sympathy and respect for the *real* misfortunes and sufferings of men, who earn their property by the industrious, laborious, useful and honorable profession and occupation of a farmer, mechanic or manufacturer, as for a scheming and slippery trader?

It is affirmed, that *honest* men don't need or desire any law to absolve them from the obligation of fair contracts, and that *knaves* would abuse such a law.

It does finally appear, on the whole, that there is something *rotten* in these systems of bankruptcy, and insolvency, tending powerfully to the destruction of republican virtue, justice and equality, and to furnish fit instruments for carrying on the desperate work of corruption and despotism.

Conversations between a Monarchist and a Republican.

Monarchist. I don't like this kind of *mob-like* government.

Republican. What do you mean, by *mob-like* government?

M. A government where the *rabble* rule—where the *sovereign people* reign in might and majesty; and who *can do no wrong*, whether they knock a man's brains out for daring to speak the truth out openly against their will and pleasure, or for exciting their envy or greediness, by the superiority of his talents, productions or acquirements.

R. The sovereign people *can do wrong*; and they do commit a *wrong* action, whenever they violate the principles of *mor-*

al or *political* JUSTICE—the acknowledged standard of our compact or government, towards a nation, or individual. But, the people generally *bear their own wrongs*; not like the wrongs of kings or sovereign princes, for which *the people* suffer. By the rabble, do you mean a majority of the people?

M. Yes,—the multitude.

R. How great a proportion of the people of the United States, would you designate as the rabble, or multitude?

M. Ninety-nine hundredths, or more.

R. How would you have us governed, if not by the will of the majority?

M. The science of government, is a deep, intricate and complicated subject, that requires great talents and learning to understand; and is as much above the general reach and comprehension of the rabble, as the planetary system is beyond the inspection of the naked eye.

R. The science of government, with many other arts, have been rendered as intricate and complex as possible, in order to exclude them from the comprehension and understanding of the common people. The fallacy and wickedness of this *craft*, has been pretty well demonstrated, already, by the experiments of governments in this hemisphere. However, there are many, I presume, even in this country, nighly of your opinion or liking. Perhaps one half, twothirds, or more, of the learned professions, together with many possessed of large estates, and some few others. But how is such a change of government to be brought about? surely it cannot be effected by force of arms, for the *multitude*, as you call them, would be able to bear down all before them; and quite likely they would think proper to *shoot* or *hang* those who should rebel against the established government and laws of the country; and *confiscate* the estates of internal enemies—more especially, the rich men, if any should be so base, ungrateful, or unwise, as not to be satisfied with equal justice, or even with having their persons and property protected without bearing an active part themselves; but should actually conspire against the common rights and good of community, for the purpose of obtaining further, and undue advantages over their fellow men. And if foreign troops should be

brought in to aid in the subjugation of the people of this country, ten to one they would come over and join us. The glorious example set by the troops of Spain, (in 1820,) has taught mankind what *can* be accomplished, when those who bear arms resolve to use them in *favor* of justice and humanity. But who shall our national sovereignty be entrusted with, if not with the people? They are the supporters and defenders of the country, and have to bear the final result of good or bad measures and government, and why should they not dictate and controul? Those who talk of a monarchy or arbitrary government in this country, know little or nothing about the matter. If an attempt should be made to establish a government here, in *contempt* of the public will, it would soon be found that the people were *their own* masters, and abundantly able to *guard* and *protect* THEMSELVES. If an undertaking should commence to create orders of nobility, with titles, privileges and badges of distinction, it would require an immense number of political slaves and mercenary butchers to maintain their authority. How then could such a change be effected, do tell me?

M. If you must know, I will tell you how it may, and probably will be accomplished. In the first place, I would not call it a monarchy or arbitrary authority—although the names sound well enough to me, yet there is such a prejudice against them among the rabble of this country, that you might almost as well go to war with the elements as attempt to overcome it—at least, suddenly. Neither would I undertake to effect a change by force of arms, for such an attempt, it is pretty well conjectured, would go wrong. I should not care much what *name* was given to the government; call it a republic, if you please, that seems to sound best to suit the rabble; and let the political chief be styled a president; and, for the present, dispense with the *name* of a nobility. Privileged orders are growing quite fast enough in this country, and in time they will assume names and distinctions to suit themselves. A change of government is only the work of time and management. Much is already done, and more is continually doing to effect the object. To complete, however, in the first place, your laws need only to be continued so deep, intricate, and complicated, that none but regular bred lawyers and a few

others the most learned, can understand them. This essentially fixes the civil authority in the hands of learned and respectable characters. The next efficient aid, is, perhaps a learned and respectable clergy. If possible, *organized* as a priesthood, or any way to have them act together—with or without a temporal head; and paid by government, or by permanent funds, so as to render them *independent* of the rabble. This would finally bring the ecclesiastical power to co-operate with the civil authority. With these two powers united, (the *military* being subordinate to the civil authority,) there would, I think, be but little to fear from the rabble. By the way, I don't think much, at present, of the political power of the clergy of this country, taken generally throughout the whole United States; although their influence is apparently growing and linking itself together for *national* purposes. Tolerating all religious denominations, and leaving them to the free choice and support of the parishioners, without the interference of government, as is chiefly the case at present, operates, in a measure, like so many different checks and balances, or makes the clergy in a degree, counteract their own political power and influence. The different sects are generally jealous of the political power and influence of each other, and therefore act, in some measure, as censors on their own policy and conduct. However, if *power* is their main object, they may somehow unite in their political purposes, at least a majority of them, notwithstanding their different-sectarian creeds.

After all, it mainly rests with the lawyers, to complete this change. They already exercise a kind of political sovereignty over the multitude; who *dare* not resist them; nor criticise much into their policy and conduct. It is, in fact, this; with the continued aid and influence upon society here, of European systems and rules of education, literature, customs, manners, *new fashions* of dress; systems and doctrines of law, religion, court etiquette, &c.; with your usual dependance on their manufactures and other supplies. Europeans also control an immense amount of your public stocks and other monied resources, ready to wield for your embarrassment, discipline and correction, when ever you *rebel* against their lead. By these means, the mother country de-

rives a considerable tax and homage from you, without the trouble and expense of your government.

These laws, and weapons ; together with some of the interests and practices of those who bear rule in authority here, are well calculated to promote the change.

R. There has, I know, been such juggling, slight-of-hand tricks, or strange *management*, in many of our political transactions, that a man might often *profess* republicanism and *practice* monarchy, or any of its subordinate *c aft*, without being much out of fashion. But as to this hypocritical and ruinous course ; with the *DEEP*, *intricate* and *complicated* law systems, that afford so much aid and comfort to the enemy—by promoting monarchy and aristocracy in this country ; together with the influence and power of their chief designers and managers : and our lack of a wise and consistent internal or *national* system and policy—they are all, I trust, in a fair way of correction and improvement. If I am not greatly mistaken, the people of this country are getting their eyes open pretty fast, to these subjects—as well as to the use and operation of some of your *learned* and *respectable* characters. For instance, such men as *ABSALOM ALLGAB, Esq.*, the spouter, who can make a speech four or five hours long, upon almost nothing, and combine truth and error so *learnedly* together, as hardly to be distinguished ; and the big law character, *Squire QUIBBLE* ; who beats all creation for law knowledge ; and who, it is said, can *find* law, for almost any thing ; or draw a special writ so *intricate* and *complicated*, as to puzzle a juggler. He counselled and assisted *G. M. SWINDLE*, to twist old Mr. Barnall out of the chief part of his property ; and when the old man complained and told his neighbours of the transactions, *Squire QUIBBLE*, (thinking the old man could not *prove* all the transactions, or that *the truth* would not be admitted in evidence against him, according to a well known British law maxim,) just had an attachment put upon the old man's body, for a good round sum, and sent him to prison, for defaming his “good name, fame and reputation,” as he called it. There is the *honorable John TWO-FACE, Esq.*, who, after being turned out of public confidence and employ, for his hypocritical and oppressive policy and conduct, got made a bank di-

rector, through the aid and influence of his aristocratic and moneyed friends and connexions, to make up for his lost power and honors—where he might rule over thousands and tens of thousands of money that was none of his own—loosen the purse strings, and then draw in again, first to *bait*, and then to *hook* or *snare* his game, to gratify his overbearing feelings and designs, and finally to make the rich, *richer*, and the poor, *poorer*.—And there is *Nat PREMIUM*, who would almost *shave* a man's pluck, for money, I suppose, too, would be called *respectable*, in a true monarchical or aristocratic sense, because he has got rich without exercising any laborious or *vulgar* profession.—And *Tim DASH*, who *took* a fortune by adventuring in hazardous speculations, for his own benefit, other people's money, without their knowledge or consent. There is the big *Mr. SLEAVEBENDER*, who is enabled to lie in bed until ten o'clock, and afterwards to ride in a coach, only just by *marrying* a daughter of the commissary—who was one of those trading, contracting or *commission* patriots, who went into the war *poor*, and came out *rich*, and always carefully avoided scenes of battle and danger. And there is also, *ARTEMUS UNDERWAG*, the old dandy, who wears none but the best of "London Cloth"—cuts a great figure at a *dining-out*, or *supper party*—d——s off the rabble most genteelly, and sings "God save the king," to admiration. But we, republicans, don't think much of such learning, accomplishments and characters. They don't make good and useful members of society.

But, pray, Sir, what is the *PRESS*—that mighty foe to tyranny and oppression, to be doing while your managers are completing their political *snare*s to entangle liberty and bind the common people of this country?

M. The *press*, is an article of commerce; and what are not already, directly and indirectly under the control of lawyers, dealers in foreign productions, and others who are aiding the cause, from ignorance or design, may be readily bought, or terrified into silence. Many are waiting for a bid. At least, nine tenths of the political scribblers are to be bought and sold, like other tools or articles of traffic. The highest bidder generally gets them. Bonaparte had as many political scribblers as he pleased, to gar-

nish over his work and designs. Cobbet wrote *against* your government, until he got out with his employers, and then he turned his quills against them, and wrote in your *favour*; but now, (1819—20,) he is shedding his ink in the pure cause of the radicals—a kind of half way monarchist.

Political writers, and managers, like lawyers in the pleading and management of their client's concerns, often prefer a triumph over principle, or truth, justice and reason, as it manifests the greater *abilities* on the part of the victor. By purchasing a number of your *leading* presses, (which would not cost much—if, in fact, they are not mainly in the right course already,) most of the rest would probably *follow*; and, at least nineteen-twentieths of the multitude, are so ignorant, stupid and inattentive, that they might, with proper management, be led, even to *shackle themselves*. An artful manager may generally *lead* the rabble where he pleases, although he might not be able to *drive* one, an inch.

R. I am sensible that the press is extremely liable to be corrupted, enslaved, or basely employed; and that it never is safe to put a lengthy dependence or blind confidence, in any man, or set of men. But the people of this country are pretty generally aware of these facts, already; and are so much in the habit of *watching* and *thinking* FOR THEMSELVES, that, with the aid of those presses and leading politicians remaining faithful to republican *principles*, there is not, I apprehend, much danger. Some of our politicians are in the habit of keeping a sailor's reckoning, and of taking an observation, once in a while; when they cry out, *WHERE ARE WE NOW?* What is our political *course* and *situation*? Is every thing *snug*, *safe*, and *well conditioned*, as respects our progress and situation? The fact is, most of our *crew* are experienced political pilots and navigators, of some size or other; so that, if a few knaves and blockheads should get hold of the *helm* or main rigging of state, they would soon be detected and removed.

M. Your *sovereign people*, are wonderfully discerning, watchful, active and resolute, to be sure, to permit their rights to be usurped, and their common interests to be trifled with and treated with contempt—even their express will, in many instances, has been evaded and set at defiance for years, by a few political knaves

and petty tyrants. The fact is, your common people are the *game* and *spoil* of every *political swindler* in the country ; who can employ the basest and most deceitful means to obtain an election or appointment to office—without fear of punishment ; and then, when he has succeeded, perhaps reward his secret spies, jugglers and undertakers, by appointments to office, under him, and *over* the sovereign people ! by which he sometimes makes himself the magic centre of their glory ! and expects them to serve *him*, in preference to the people !

If your leading demagogues and a few of their tools and adherents, are not managing with a hopeful eye to some future event that may *fix* them in power, and *bind* the common people to their will and future policy, why then, in the name of common sense, do they not *punish* and suppress political and other frauds on the people ? and especially when it is their official duty to do so ?—And why, in particular, do they studiously *defer* and *defeat* regulations that a sincere regard to *republicanism*, or the common good of the people, requires them to perform ?

The world must be very ignorant and thoughtless, not to have noticed the inconsistency of many of your leaders, and governmental proceedings.

If your congress or national rulers could not have done *justice* to the poor soldiers and other patriots of your revolution, by the payment of the full amount of their just dues, why, in the name of common honesty, did they do them enormous *injustice*, by securing the amount to *others*, and thus *tax* the principal losers, and their posterity, to pay the same *over again* ?

R. You have reference to what was commonly called the *soldier note*, and *public securtiy*, SPECULATION.—A more infamous transaction, perhaps, never took place in this country ; and the like of which, I feel confident, could not be again practised.

The inability of our provisional government, to pay for the military services, stores and other expenses necessary to conduct the revolutionary war to a successful close, caused the evidence of our public debts to depreciate or fall in worth, until they finally settled down at about one-eighth of their original or nominal value—at which rate they generally stood current, until some time

after the close of the war ; when a combination, of speculators and sharpers, (many of whom were members of congress, and otherways in power, or possessed of the *secret* intentions of congress,) managed, chiefly by secret agencies, to purchase up and get into their possession, or under their control, those claims or evidences of public debts, *and then made them good !* By which means, most of the original owners and losers—and particularly those who had been under the necessity of parting with their soldier notes and other public sureties, at their depreciated currency and reduced worth, to obtain the necessaries of life—they and their posterity, were subjected to be taxed—to bear their public proportion of making good the amount they had thus been deprived of, to this combination of speculators—and so they were *twice* wronged !

This was calculated to create the beginning of a *monied aristocracy* ; who, with the *well born* of the country, were chiefly to constitute our NOBILITY—to rule over us, for better or for worse ! This transaction, was in utter contempt of all principle, or in open violation of common justice, and the public good ; and, to have raised themselves chiefly upon the ruins of those who contributed and suffered most in our successful revolt against monarchy, would have recommended them to the rank and favour of the *legitimates* of the old world.

Soon after the principal advantages of this speculation had been secured to its authors, many of the sons of these enriched speculators, with those of the *well born*, went out to Europe to witness *examples* and take *samples* of legitimate nobility, in order to *qualify* themselves for their expected stations : and when they returned, many of them dashed and sported away, upon a prodigal, profligate and ruinous scale—generally manifesting their *contempt* of the common people, and of the rules and good of society, in the true style of legitimate noblemen. However, the virtue and good sense of our common people, or their intelligence and firmness, sustained this attack, and defeated the designs of aristocracy and monarchy combined ; and those of this young brood of intended noblemen, who have not fallen the miserable victims of intemperance, profligacy, and their own folly, dulusion and mad-

ness, have become men of business, and otherwise attached themselves to the prosperity and good of the country. It is a curious fact, that many of these *well born*, considering themselves entitled to the honours and emoluments of public office, on account of their *birth* or family connections—finding themselves disappointed, complained most bitterly, of their ill usage, as though the will of Heaven had been set at defiance, and some even threatened *terrible* things—as the consequence ; and then finally sunk down into a sullen, sottish mood and habits, and have been sulkily mouldering and rotting out, like logs cast upon the sod !

M. It has been a subject of serious and loud complaint, (but without redress, for those who have got the advantage, like other tyrants, *hold on*, without justice, or reason,) that the representation in several of your states, and in other particulars, is extremely anti-republican, or *unequal* in its apportionment. The *districting* of your states, has also been long and loudly demanded, by the public voice, and by every consideration of justice and republicanism, that the people may have a chance to *know* whom they vote for, or invest with power to act for them, in the important stations of representatives in congress, presidential electors, state senators, and the like offices. Why, too, has there never been formed any state, or national, code of law—which every man of good common sense and information may understand, and use, for his own guide and protection ?

Ever since the establishment of your independence, this has been more or less the case. If your sovereign people *don't know any bet er*, than to permit their rights and interests to be thus trifled with and made the game and spoil of every political upstart or unprincipled adventurer, their prospects are certainly not very inviting.

It don't signify, education is too *cheap* in this country. It makes more fools and knaves than any thing else. Your studies should be about twice as extensive as they now are ; and your schools, academies and colleges, should be supplied with the most refined and choice European authors and publications—which pay a proper respect to illustrious birth, and noble titles and distinctions, as

well as to men of wealth, learning and exalted piety ; and, by attending to their rules of education, would ultimately subdue that rude and disrespectful mode of expression, which is common in this country.

Your taste for European education, literature, fashions, customs and refinements, is, however, progressing encouragingly.

R. What are the boasted *fiddlers, picture-makers, and novelists,—stage-players, mountebanks and jugglers,—spies, pimps and pick-pockets*, of large cities, and old over-crowded countries, with all their *tinsels* and *toy-shops*, and their *barren piles* of privileged spoil—the fruits of a diseased and corrupt taste, designed to pamper the drones and made fools of bloated monarchy, and to feed and rule the miserable slaves that creep and cringe at the footstool of arbitrary power, and to animate and regale the silly and corrupt creatures of monarchy, that dance and play round the thrones of sovereign chiefs, together with their millions of lousy beggars, (*noblemen* beggars, and all,) and an ignorant, degraded and oppressed peasantry, chiefly dwelling in thatched, mud hovels, and subsisting upon the refuse of their own productions—the victims of an unjust, corrupt and arbitrary government and policy : What, I say, are these to compare with a nation of **FREE-MEN**,—the virtuous, enlightened, and independent farmers and mechanics of America ; the lords of the harvest and the work-shop, dwelling in permanent and commodious houses, of wood, brick or stone, situated in the pure open atmosphere, of ten thousand country townships and villages, enjoying the fruits of their own labor, with all the privileges, dignity and independence becoming an enlightened and free people, subject to no political master or superior under Heaven !

As to respect for empty titles, and nominal distinctions of birth, blood and fortune, they are too palpably ridiculous and absurd to require serious confutation. Away with them, I say, every thing but actual merit and substantial usefulness—they are the fruits and excrescences of *overgrown vice*—the fewer of them the better.

I have no objection to European works of substantial merit and usefulness ; but we have already received too much of our educa-

tion from the fountains and sinks of monarchy ; and, as to the *cheapness* of education in this country, I consider it one of our greatest blessings. The people of this country will always, I hope, be such fools as to *think* and *act* FOR THEMSELVES. But where will you find men of the old world, to compare with our Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Hancock, Patrick Henry, Adamses, Sherman, Rittenhouse, Jackson and a host of other benefactors and public worthies that could be named, raised up in our republican habits.

M. I see you are disposed to soar from your subject, and triumphantly top off with some of your most distinguished leaders—*republican worthies*, as you would call them. But I believe your revolution never would have been attempted, had the leading men been seasonably appointed to office, instead of sending men over here to rule you ; and even as it was, I believe the chief part of your southern nabobs never would have joined the revolutionary cause, as much as they did, had they not ultimately intended to *rule*. Among the complaints, stated in your declaration of independence, against the king and government of the mother country, is the “ sending over *swarms of officers, to harrass*” your people and *eat out their substance*. This is certainly the most undignified language of any part of that famous instrument, and shows, pretty clearly, where your leaders felt themselves most bitterly aggrieved. Had *they* been employed to have “ harrassed the people” and to have “ eat out their substance,” instead of foreign officers, all most probably would have been well, with *them*, as in other cases that might be named.

R. That there should have been some hypocrites among the leaders of our revolution, is not at all surprising. Indeed, we are warned, by one of the most conspicuous of them, never to expect to find *Angels* in the form of men. But the world never saw nobler minds united in a political undertaking for the general good, than those who planned and achieved our national liberty and independence. Who, but an idiot, or slave, would not have resented the sending over here and placing over us, *foreigners*—strangers to our condition and best good—enemies to our

rights and prosperity—the mere agents and tools of a foreign and despotic master ?

M. You have, indeed, blundered into a degree of civilized liberty ; but, if your sovereign peop'e are not better informed on the subject, than they now appear, you may soon blunder out again.

The principal leaders in your revolution, like others in pursuit of that which they could not achieve by *force*, had recourse to stratagem ; and, in order to induce the people to beat off your *foreign* masters, that they, themselves, or their posterity, might lord it over you, they talked mighty patriotic, republican and fair, to be sure—and some of them proved faithful to their professions ; but others, as soon as they saw your national independence established, made known their liking and intentions for dominion over the common people.

You have not yet got church and state policy much blended together, in your national government ; but *liberty* and *slavery* are closely and hypocritically interwoven and connected therein ; and which are as bad, or worse, in the natural consequences of their connexion. Slavery, is, indeed, a *mill-stone*, as it were, about your neck.

Is it possible, that a nation or people can long exist in harmony, and act together faithfully for the general good, when one part are for protecting, honoring and rewarding human industry and merit, and the other part feel interested and disposed to degrade, rob and enslave, the most laborious part of their fellow beings ?

What, in fact, is your boasted declaration of independence, but an empty farce—a solemn and hypocritical mockery ; and what does many of your self-styled gasconading *republicans*, care about the words or meaning of that *sacred* instrument, as you would call it, if they can only *RULE* ? By that instrument, they solemnly proclaim to Heaven and Earth, that *all* men are *born* FREE, and *equal*—possessing certain *unalienable rights*—to it, FREEDOM and the pursuit of happiness, while they hold a considerable portion of their fellow creatures in perpetual and ignominious bondage, and strenuously persist, even to the imminent jeopardy of

your national liberty and independence, in maintaining an *unequal* and *unjust* advantage, obtained by your constitution, over their fellow citizens of other states, in an EXTRA representation ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR SLAVES !

Common justice, and common sense, would require a *deduction* of representation, or federal power and influence, from the slave holding states, on account of their public danger, and final injury to the best interests of the community.

R. It will be remembered that slavery, was introduced into this country by *monarchy*; and since the declaration of our independence and the establishment of our republican government, the efforts made by our government, aided by individuals, to meliorate the condition of slaves, and finally to abolish slavery from the union, has set the world an example of justice and humanity, that reflects honor upon the nation, as well as the distinguished individuals engaged in promoting the undertaking.

M. Some of your lovers of liberty, I know, boast of having abolished the slave trade—that horrid traffic in human beings: That is they have found it more profitable to propagate and *raise* men, women and children for sale as slaves, than to *import* them, from a foreign country!

Because you *found* certain people in slavery, when you commenced your independence and free form of government, you seemed to consider it right to *keep* them so; and also to consign their posterity, (without a single fault,) to perpetual and ignominious bondage!

The mighty wisdom and greatness of your Jefferson—where was it, in acquiring a territory *thrown in your way*, as it were, by European embarrassments. Where, too, was his boasted philanthropy, or sense of national justice, when he was racking his brain to find out appropriations for the overflowings of your national treasury, while many of the *cheated* and war-worn veterans and patriots of your revolution, or their orphan families, were suffering for want of the common necessities and comforts of life.

R. Monarchists, I know, will never forgive our good and great JEFFERSON, for the part he has acted in acquiring and extending

our national liberty and independence : But they are welcome to console themselves by their petty flirts and insinuations. He is quite out of their reach ; and stands, in fact, as much above the general character of emperors, kings, or sovereign princes, as human virtue and wisdom are more to be esteemed, than ignorance and corruption.

M. What is your much boasted freedom of election, one half the time, but a solemn mockery—an idle and hypocritical ceremony—a mere farce, insulting alike to justice and common sense, when every body knows that it is generally useless to oppose a candidate, once *nominated* to an office by a few irresponsible leaders of a ruling party. Might you not just as well acknowledge the *legitimacy* of a caucus nomination, at once, and save yourselves the trouble and expense of attending the poles and performing the humiliating *ceremony* of voting ? Bonaparte mounted to an imperial throne, by a kind of mock election.

Your *president*, has, already, nigh or quite as much power and influence, as a *king* usually possesses under a constitutional or limited monarchy ; and, although he is not elected for life, and the line of succession established in his family, yet he can generally manage to retain the office two terms in succession, and then nominate or secure the election of his successor. This seems prodigious, in a country where the people exercise political sovereignty, and do not profess to believe in the *infallibility* of a single man. It seems also a little queer, that you should have created a political monster of such fearful power and consequences, as to require constant checking and guarding, to prevent him from trampling on the rights and interests of the community. Some of your leading politicians already style your president, chief *ruler* of the nation. The petitions or prayers of your *sovereign* people to their public *servants*, is also rated among some of the hypocritical and queer transactions of your government and rulers.

What, in fact, is your much boasted national *constitution*, but a leaden rule, or a lump of wax, to be bent to any shape, or to sustain any impression or *construction*, that may happen to suit the interest or convenience of a ruling party ? For example—one

day, a national banking establishment, of *ten* millions capital, was not only denounced as *unconstitutional*, but as being a huge monied institution—an overgrown engine of tyranny and corruption—the very “*old dagon*,” that would one day destroy your liberty, if permitted to exist. (The capital stock chiefly belonged to foreigners, and to men of the party out of power.) No sooner than this monied mammoth was slain and quietly in the dust, than the same party who destroyed it, created another of *thirty-five* millions of capital—THREE TIMES AND A HALF BIGGER than the first! and which they announced as a measure, not only consistent with the powers delegated to the general government by the constitution, but as a very useful and convenient establishment!

Your large and overgrowing states, I regard as a kind of political *giants*; that singly, or combined, most probably will attempt, sooner or later, to *bully*—control, or upset, the union—unless, indeed, there is quite a different spirit manifested than now prevails.

The sons of Massachusetts and Virginia, claim a kind of birth-right, *over* the sons of the other states, on account of the lead those states took in your revolution. They have already both had their turns of pouting and raving—manifesting a dissatisfied and rebellious spirit, whenever the presidency or chief rule is taken from them. Indeed, one excess generally follows another; and those who were the first to revolt against monarchy in this country, might be expected to be the first to attempt the overthrow of your national union and liberties.

Your leaders boast of a great deal of patriotism, political wisdom and foresight; but the truth is, the prosperity of this country, hitherto, has been chiefly the result of accidental causes.

In proportion to your numbers, this country probably has nigh or quite as many interested and designing foes to common freedom, justice and humanity, as any other—only they are not yet in possession of means to fully accomplish their gratification.

Many of the *roots* and *branches* of monarchy, still remain and flourish with you. What else could cause the *holding on* to so many anti-republican measures, habits and customs?

R. If you could read the secrets of my mind, you would find, that these things are just as foreign from my liking, as they are

injurious to the republican cause. The fact is, since the commencement of our revolution, the real republicans of America, have had the monarchists and aristocrats of both the old and new world to contend with. Besides, it would be unreasonable to expect a perfect system of republicanism, to have been immediately formed out of the confused materials furnished by the revolution, especially under all the troubles and intrigues that succeeded that period. It is the work of time, and a great deal of trouble, to establish a perfect system of republican rules and habits of life.

What objection can a virtuous and enlightened man, have to a republican government, founded in a system of equal, just and reasonable laws, faithfully and judiciously administered? Are not talents and learning sufficiently honored and rewarded, by them, if *usefully* applied?

M. Where is your sense of national justice, honor, or even of *good policy*, in the treatment experienced by many of your most virtuous, patriotic and meritorious geniuses? Their lives have been a bed of thorns, and the existence of some have been terminated by premature death. The *ingratitude* of republics, is, indeed, proverbial.

R. However truly the charge of ingratitude may have been applied to what were anciently called republics; the character, I apprehend, is not fairly due to the people of this country. That our *misrepresentatives*, have, in many instances, disgraced our republican character, I will not deny; but when, and where, has there been one spontaneous and understanding act of *THE PEOPLE* of the United States, that may be fairly stamped with the character of *ingratitude*?

Men of extraordinary virtue and genius, have always excited more or less envy, and cupidity, in every age and country where they have existed; but whenever such characters have been the subjects of fraud, vexation and cruelty, in this country, I have always found that their principal and leading foes, at least, were of that class and character of men, whom you would have us regard as *learned* and *respectable*; and, although some of the common people have been deceived and led on to give aid and assistance to such conspiracies, yet the design and infamy chiefly rests

with the former. Indeed, I am well persuaded there is not a more worthy class of people on the globe, nor more sincere friends of virtue, justice and human excellence, than a great majority of the common people of this country. They feel neither *above* nor *below* a proper sense of human rights—the interests and feelings of their fellow beings.

No wonder the enemies of justice and civil liberty should impute every thing bad to the character of a republican government, that they should endeavor to make mankind *afraid of themselves*, and try to *terrify* them into the ranks of monarchy, as the only place of safety, profit, or honor. Some, who have been perpetually drinking from the fountains and common sewers of monarchy, have got so impregnated with the disease, that they verily believe, no doubt, that monarchies are the real friends and benefactors of mankind, sent down from Heaven, as it were, in God's special mercy, to protect mankind, *against themselves* ! But if these *children* of monarchy will only read the *Bible*, they may find that kings were indulged to *punish* mankind for their vanity and wickedness ; and if they will take the trouble to ascertain their transactions, truly, they will probably be satisfied that monarchies have pretty generally answered the purposes for which they were indulged.

Our Divine Saviour and his apostles fully manifested their republicanism.

Call no man *master*. Ye are *brethren*. He that is *chiefest* among you, the same is your *servant*.

DO UNTO OTHERS AS YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO UNTO YOU.

He that *exalteth himself*, shall be abased, and whomsoever humbleth himself, shall be exalted.

One thing is pretty certain, that a majority of several millions of freemen, can select a better chief, than mere *chance* ; and that the people are more suitable judges of what is good for themselves, than a haughty and overbearing aristocracy, who riot in luxury upon the earnings of their fellow-men, and feel few or none of the burdens and actual conditions they impose on others.

It is quite a common artifice, with those who wish to degrade,

or impose on others, to endeavour to draw off our natural excitements and fellow-feelings, from the objects of their intended injustice or cruelty, by representing them as *poor, ignorant*, or vile creatures—unworthy of common justice and humanity ! perhaps just fit to be *slaves* ! The absurdity and wickedness of such apologies, or course of argument, however, cannot well be too severely reprehended.

Are the persons and property of individuals, any where more secure, than in this republican country ?

M. You no doubt, consider yourself as a fortunate and wise people, and that you actually possess the most just, rational and excellent government in the world. Your local situation and natural advantages, are certainly very important. Inhabiting a vast continent, possessed, within your own limits, of every variety of clime, soil and natural production, necessary for the support, convenience, prosperity and happiness of man ; with a territory bordered and intersected with vast seas, bays, lakes, rivers, forests, and other facilities of intercourse ; at a distance from the trammels, quarrels, intrigues, and corrupt influence and examples of the old world ; with a peculiar opportunity to be benefitted by the experience of other nations that have gone before you, by wisely adopting their good examples, and rejecting and avoiding their bad ones.

Your system of government, mainly, looks fair and wise, *on paper* ; but before I shall become a complete convert to republicanism, I must see it administered or carried into effect, with more consistency and wisdom than I now view it, (1819—20.) What would be thought of it, if I were to say that I considered some of the measures of your government, and the conduct of some of your men in power, as the most *corrupt*, of those of any other country on the globe—evincing the most hypocrisy and contempt of principle—measures and practices, deviating the furthest from what are professedly regarded as the moral and political standards of the country, and of the individuals alluded to ?

Your people are hypocritically mocked with an idea of their *sovereignty*. Suppose all who are properly regarded as freemen—from their having come to the age of common manhood, and paid

taxes or otherwise contributed essentially to the maintenance, (support and defence) of government, and otherwise conducted themselves as good citizens, were to meet in their respective townships or primary assemblies, throughout a state, after general and seasonable notice had been publickly given of the meeting and its particular object, and that they should discuss and settle upon certain articles as their state constitution, or as amendments thereof, by a majority of votes—even by seven-eighths of the whole number of freemen, or of the number of townships, in the state—would not your aristocratic masters, (who have environed themselves about with seeming authority, and trammelled the people, by the *forms* of legislation,) object, and declare the people's act a nullity—being void of the customary *forms* of legislation, and without the sanction of certain public *authorities*?

What are your lawyers and priests but *privileged* orders or professions, claiming the *lead* and *head* of almost every thing—that they may give an *impress* and *direction* peculiarly favorable to their own policy and interests! They are about as watchful and tenacious of their sovereignty and control, as the princes and nobles of birth and fortune of the old world. The lawyer is dubbed *Esquire*, and the priest *Reverend*. These distinctions are allowed them from *dread* of their power to do the common people *harm*—and not from any particular *merit* in merely being a lawyer or priest. These distinctions are the relics of monarchy; and have been so long indulged or kept alive in this country, as to have become a kind of *law*, with the vulgar, and exercise a degree of sovereignty over them that will be difficult to get rid of. Your common people have been so long in the habit of having lawyers and priests *lead* and *drive* them, that it would be difficult to raise men of other professions to offices or stations of any considerable power and influence—however worthy they might be, and however important for the general concern to have the various offices and powers of government distributed among all classes and professions of men, and so break up this league of privileged and usurped sovereignty. Men standing upon a common level, as farmers and mechanics generally do, dislike the elevation of those they regard as no more than their equals, or one of their own profession and

standing. Such attempts often excite *envy* and opposition, rather than their approbation and support. The lawyers know how to take advantage of these prejudices and ill calculations—to cultivate and keep them alive, in order to maintain their own elevation and control of power. This they do, although they are evidently *hated*, by the common people, who dread their power, policy and conduct. In fact, your lawyers maintain their control of power, by prejudice, stratagem and force—pretty much as the sovereign princes and nobles of the old world, do theirs.

R. Our college learnt men, like the princes and nobles of birth and fortune, of the old world, have been so much indulged, and so long in the habit of *puffing* and BOOSTING each other; and of unrighteously degrading and keeping down others, that we have been greatly deceived as to the real worth and character of college learnt men, and of college learning generally. However, our people are coming to their senses on this subject; and I trust that good and practical men, of all classes and professions, will soon be properly educated and instructed, and duly invested with our public concerns; and that the number of public servants from each class or profession of men, will be proportioned in some measure to the whole number of the same; so that every considerable class or profession of men shall be duly represented and respected, according to their real merits and importance in the community. Nothing else can long maintain the *justice* and *equality* necessary to the preservation of our rights and liberties.

M. It is now nigh half a century since you revolted from monarchy, and have been acting for yourselves as a free, sovereign, independent, and professedly, a *republican* nation; and yet you seem about as far from actual *justice* and *equality*, in much of your public policy and conduct, as if the matter never had seriously entered into calculation.

The establishment, progress and improvement, of common schools, for the due education and instruction of the people—matters acknowledged to be of vital necessity and importance to the existence and well being of a republican community, with a few honourable exceptions, have not only been neglected, but often embarrassed, and some times strenuously opposed—While the

most extraordinary exertions have been making for the promotion of *extra* learning ! the aristocratic education of the *few*, and, in a measure, at the expense of the many !

You lavish honors and rewards, upon a few fortunate military chiefs, and abandon the rest, (mainly the rank and file, who actually bear the principal burden, hardships and hazards of warfare,) to the *picks* and *kicks* of privileged and unprincipled sharpers !

Your late revolution or general pension act, bestowing an almost indiscriminate *bounty*, as it were, on the fortunate survivors of those who bore arms and performed nominal services, or did a common duty, without experiencing any considerable injury in the service, with those who rendered important services, and experienced great loss or personal sacrifices ; and finally subjecting the latter class, with other sufferers, and their *posterity*, to be taxed and burdened to defray the bounty thus unjustly and absurdly bestowed upon those—many of whom are lazy, improvident, tippling, worthless characters—*encouraging others to become so*, for the sake of obtaining the *public bounty* thus offered for *indolence* and *improvidence* ! Was it too nice, or too laborious a task, for your national government to distinguish actual merit in this case ? and the natural *consequences* ? Or did they intend to insult, wound, confound, oppress and discourage true merit ? And all this, too, as if there were no other sufferers in your revolutionary contest, but those who bore *arms* !

Your hardy, enterprising and brave seamen, who have added so much to the wealth, defence and glory of this nation, are left a prey to the vilest sharpers !

Like aristocrats, your rulers take care of the big folks, and leave the little ones to destruction ! They also punish the little rogues, and let the big ones go !

It is really curious to hear the *disinterested* and patriotic pretensions of some of your leading hypocrites and jugglers.

An unusual share of impudence and hypocrisy seems to be the leading traits of some of your aspiring and thrifty leaders and *drivers* ; who push themselves forward, and often with about as little regard to the actual good of *the people*, as the wolves and vultures have for *their* prey.

What will be the end of your vain love of *titles, pomp and power*?

A *leaning* towards confirmed aristocracy, is conspicuous in the bearing of many of your public and private transactions, characters, and habits of life. Indeed, the little knaves and tyrants of this country, are just about as hostile to the genuine freedom of speech, and of the press, as the big ones of the old world,—*lest it should expose their true policy and conduct*!

Some of your public *servants*, as you call them, in order to screen themselves from detection, and punishment, softly, *caution* against exposing, or publicly acknowledging, the infidelity and baseness of *public officers*, lest it should go abroad to the reproach of your country, and form of government! Something like the artifice of a female, of nameless character, who was about being examined for commitment, on a base charge, when she slightly whispered to the magistrate and lawyers, that it would be a general disgrace to the *female character* to have her exposed. Better, she said, that ten such offences should escape punishment, than that one *female* should be convicted and punished!

Is there no danger to be apprehended to your republican cause, by the *printing craft*? Will printers publish any thing against their own professional policy and conduct? Will not printers generally study to promote a complicated, obscure and frivolous course of reading, for the sake of increasing their own business and gains?

R. *Republican* printers, study to *serve* the people—not *ruin* and *rule* them. If the people of this country are only thoughtful and attentive to this subject, they will encourage and support such printers, and such publications, as faithfully promote the common good, and neglect and discourage all other printers and publications; and thus, the most effectually, and easily, promote their own general and best good.

M. Will your public servants, as you call them, act faithfully for the best good of *the people*, when their own personal and private interests are otherways inclined? The individuals, who compose your national and state legislatures, are *one*, to half a million, one hundred thousand, five thousand, &c., of your common

people, generally differing widely from their constituents, in their circumstances, interests and feelings. How then can they be relied upon to promote the best common good?

Who can reflect on the absurd customs of some of your public authorities, without astonishment—for instance, the judges of some of your courts, wearing pelisses, or setting in the *robes* of office, like monarchists, or looking perhaps more like so many old monks and friars, than republican magistrates! and the *mock majesty* of some of your governours and chief executive authorities, parading with their *military guards*, as if they actually held their power *in contempt of the people*!

What *encouragement*, or *protection*, does the government of this country actually hold out to men of the first rate genius, talents and information, to devote themselves to the promotion of the best good of *the people*?

It seems to me, that many of your public leaders, have no political principles at all, or that they do not know what is *republicanism*.

Almost every historical account of your country and government, dwell upon the blessed *security* of persons and property, professedly enjoyed under your national and state constitutions, bills of right, statute and other laws; but I should really like to know what mighty security there could long be expected to the common people, in laws and regulations that chiefly depend on the *interpretation* and *will* of one distinct profession of men for their meaning and use? Might you not as well leave it to the *lawyers*, at once, to say what your rights and privileges were, and what was final justice, in most cases of personal difference, and other matters of legal investigation and adjustment? Like causes produce like effects. Give any distinct order, class or profession of men, the chief power of governing a country, and they will soon assume a haughty, corrupt and overbearing influence and *fixed policy*.

For my soul, I cannot help thinking that the *lawyers* are chiefly your MASTERS, and some how rule the country, against the understanding and free will or *choice* of the people. Probably through their control of the press—ruling appointments to office, and be-

ing as it were, *masters of law*—by which the tenor of every man's life and fortune, is mainly held.

This country, or rather certain places in it, has probably got more *feasting, toasting, add essing, resolving* and *puffing* politicians, than all the world besides. But, if they don't feast, toast, and *puff*, or *juggle* you out of your senses—your virtue, liberties and best good, it will be fortunate for your common people, in the end.

When your lawyers find *the people* determined to take the actual sovereignty and power of the country into their own hands, will they not closely league with the worst men in society, to hold you to their will and purposes ?

R. Our most unprincipled lawyers seem to have been long in the habit of doing so, already.

M. Notwithstanding all your boasting about common rights and liberties, I do not believe there is an actual *free press*, upon a rational and candid construction, in the whole United States—not one that dare publish, substantially and manfully, even the most important matter that concerns the people. This is a melancholy state of affairs, for what some have styled the worlds last, best hope ; but I believe it to be substantially true. Your courts still chiefly go by the rules laid down by *monarchy*, in such cases, when ever it best suits their purposes ; and most of your learned and ablest men, seem to coalesce, or combine their power and influence to *entangle* liberty—to intimidate, terrify and keep down every thing that has a tendency to expose and defeat *their policy and conduct*. Your laws do not efficiently *protect* a manly freedom of speech, and of the press ; and which is indispensably necessary to the support and preservation of genuine republicanism.

It does, indeed, appear to me, that many of your leading men, and ruling measures, have a studied and determined bearing towards a complex and arbitrary system of government. What else can be the object, in many instances, in keeping off genuine and necessary republican regulations ? and in making a mighty bluster and parade about elections—sometimes causing numerous and unnecessary *extra* meetings of electors, under pretext of ascertaining, beforehand, and of *managing* their choice of men for of-

fice? and in embarrassing the mode and operation of voting, and finally making a choice—unless it is to render the exercise of your rights and duties as freemen, unnecessarily *tedious, difficult, expensive*, and in a measure, *ineffectual* in the end—and finally to make you *tired* and *sick* of elections, that you may neglect your duty and attendance at the polls, and thereby leave every thing pretty much to the management of a few *leading* and *driving* characters; and finally be induced to *give up* your liberty to whoever may offer to take the reins!

I am really a friend to justice and rational liberty, and most sincerely desire to see them prosper. In fact, no virtuous and enlightened mind can truly deny the perfect *right* of self government. Therefore, only demonstrate the *practicability* of a people judiciously governing themselves, and you disarm the advocates of monarchy of their only plausible argument.

R. Our rights and privileges, have certainly been too much and too long at the will and control of lawyers, and their confederates in power and policy; but I have the satisfaction to believe that the virtue and good sense of the people are fast correcting this evil: so that we may soon expect to have measures provided, that will enable every man of good common sense and information, to *understand* and *use* the laws, for their own guide and preservation, without the interpretation, aid or consent of lawyers.

The late change in the politics of this country, was generally considered as adverse to the arbitrary and crooked policy of *lawyers*; many of whom, after they saw themselves defeated in their favourite course, *professed* to turn round, and embrace the popular cause, with a view to *lead* the people into the same final condition, which they had, in vain, been endeavouring to *force* them into.

When one of this power loving profession or fraternity of gentry was changing the tone of his political harp to accord with the party in power, a plain spoken discerning old farmer remarked, that he would never be able to tune himself into *his* confidence.

Since the declaration of independence, the people of this country have had so much of their time and attention engaged, by our revolutionary, and late war; the revolutions and wars of other

countries ; the long violent party struggles among ourselves ; several extensive speculating manias, which have agitated and bewildered our country at different times, with the severe pecuniary embarrassments that resulted from them, and the late general peace—by *letting down* many from their false elevations to a real standing ; together with the political *juggling* carried on by many for offices, contracts and favors ; that there never has been such a general political *calm*, and leisure, as now exists, (1819—20,) for attending to national designs and improvements. Besides, the moral, political and philosophical light which has been constantly opening to our view, by the “*march of mind*,” at home and abroad, furnishes new and peculiar aids to the present opportunities for correcting and improving our national and state measures and policies, and ultimately establishing a just, wise and consistent system of republican rules and habits of life.

Political Reflections, No. 1.

IN some of our political changes, the honor of a freeman or republican *elector*, has been degraded, by cheapening the required qualifications and extending the privilege to unworthy characters. There certainly ought to be something more, than merely for a person to arrive at the age of common manhood, in order to acquire the important and responsible privilege of a republican *elector*—the enjoyment of an equal and full participation in the exercise of national sovereignty—directly and indirectly selecting, directing and controlling, all the civil and military officers, agencies and operations of government, including the raising of the public revenue, and the safe keeping and disposal of the public funds and other property.

Those who do not *support* government, efficiently, by the prompt payment of their honest taxes, and the cheerful performance of their military duties, should not be permitted to vote and *direct* government.

It is *unjust*—dangerous—insulting and highly discouraging to

the best impulse and interests of republicanism, to permit *pau-pers, cowards, vagrants* and *miscreants*, to a full participation in the exercise of national authority—and on equal terms, too, with the best men in the community.

DISTRICTING, for the choice of representatives in congress, presidential electors, state senators, and the like officers, is a very important and highly consistent republican regulation ; as it unites superior intelligence, and responsibility.

When subject to the election of a single district, the candidate, would not only be better known to his electors, than if he were to be chosen by a general ticket of the whole state ; but he would be far more likely to prove a *true* representative, of the general principles and interesting concerns of his constituents.

We can judge something, *ourselves*, of the character, qualifications and fitness for office, of a candidate, when within our own immediate vicinity or district ; but when he resides in a different section or part of the state, electors are mostly left to make up their opinions from hearsay, or *other* people's representations. Besides, the person elected by strangers, or people at a distance, is just so far removed from a direct responsibility to his constituents.

But there is a far more important concern attending the districting of the states. It is truly a republican measure, founded in the clearest justice, and wisdom.

It affords a MINOR PARTY a chance to be represented in the public councils—as every efficient member of the community ought to be, as a matter of the strictest *right* ; and the exertions of a virtuous and active minority, are necessary to the preservation of human rights and liberties.

A ruling party, however moderate and well disposed, on their first coming into power, after quiet possession for a while, are extremely apt to forget the source and responsibility of their authority, and neglect their official duties. It is, therefore, indispensable to the preservation of real civilized rights and human liberty, to have a ruling party watched and guarded, and their political measures and transactions duly investigated and made public, through the vigilance and exertions of a minor party.

Five-ninths of the people of a state, being of one political party, by a choice made by their *legislative assembly*, or by a *general ticket* throughout the state, could totally exclude the four-ninths from any representation in congress, state senate, and in the choice of presidential electors—although the people who compose the four-ninths of the population of the state, and are thus excluded from any representation or voice in the public councils, may be equally as efficient members of the community, in the public protection and support, in proportion to their numbers, as those who compose the five-ninths. This is manifestly unjust, and highly dangerous for the community. There is no maxim more correct and sacred, in my republican creed, than that *the minority should always be heard*, and fairly and courteously treated.

By properly districting the states, a minor party would always have a chance to be represented, in some of the districts, and thereby encouraged to keep up their vigilance and exertions for the detection and exposure of the overbearing influence and corrupt designs of party leaders in power. Virtuous minorities should therefore always be encouraged; as healthy for the body politic.

By neglecting to district, party leaders have maintained one of their apologies for caucus nominations; and which is, that it would be impossible for the electors, in general, to form a correct judgment in the selection and choice of all their representatives in congress, state senators, presidential electors, and like officers, *throughout a whole state*: And, therefore, the men must be picked out and *marked*, before hand, by a few knowing ones, *for the freemen to choose*!

In case of the death, or resignation of a representative in congress, state senator, presidential elector, or the like officer, if a state was properly *districted*, his place might be supplied by the votes of his district, only, and without any further trouble or delay—martialing a caucus to *tell* the freemen who to choose, and calling out the electors of a whole state to make the choice, or rather to confirm the nomination.

If the states were properly districted, and the merits of the different candidates that might offer themselves, or be otherwise no-

ticed for election, were properly discussed and explained to the public, there is no doubt but the virtue and good sense of the freemen, generally, would enable them to make the best selections. And, certainly, as the people have to bear the consequences, of good or bad public servants, they should be left free and unbridled in the selection and choice thereof.

Every person entitled to vote at an election, should be allowed to *send* in their ballots, when inconvenient to attend the polls in person—as if they were proprietors in any general concern. Such a regulation would be both just and wise; for it is hard, and in a measure injurious to the public concern, that a good and efficient member of the community—one who was equally concerned in the measures of government, and entitled to a vote in the selection of public servants, should, unnecessarily be deprived of his right, when ill health, absence from town, or any inconvenience prevented his personal attendance at the polls, merely to present his written ballot; and particularly when no unusual trouble or hazard would be encountered by his *sending* the same.

I cannot perceive any more impropriety in a man's *offering himself* as a candidate, for an office, elective by the people, than for one to seek an appointment by an executive officer, or through any other agency of government.

The electors are under no obligation to choose a man, because he has offered his services; and perhaps given them a specimen of his principles, qualifications, and views on interesting and leading subjects. But the public would certainly be much less liable to be deceived, by such a candidate, than one who was silent—who had neither explained, nor pledged any thing, and when elected, would perhaps feel indifferent, or prove an unsuitable or unfaithful representative of the interests and feelings of his constituents. Experience has indeed proved how often we have been misrepresented and disappointed, when it was too late to correct the mistake.

There is, I know, a little crooked policy, cultivated by some of the craft who make a profession of advocating or representing *others*, by which they would endeavour to have it considered as ostentatious or otherways disgraceful, for an individual to say any

thing in favor of *himself*; but that, whatever a second person might say of him, however mercenary his views, would be void of selfish or dishonourable reflections. Just as if *the truth* lost any of its attributes or good qualities by coming direct from the fountain head ! or that the real merits of an individual were diminished, by his being able to vindicate or explain *himself* ! (This same little craft or policy is pursued, in some instances, in regard to a person's *serving himself*, in other capacities, besides that of a spokesman or advocate.)

We are frequently called upon to elect to offices of considerable trust and importance, men of whom the public in general know little or nothing concerning their character, qualifications, and general circumstances.

A prudent man would hesitate to employ, or entrust as a day laborer upon his farm, a man, without knowing more of him than we frequently do of many who are entrusted with some of our dearest political concerns.

When we have *all* the men, as it were, of the whole district, state, or nation, as the case may be, to select public servants from, men of the best characters, qualifications and dispositions to promote the public good, should be employed.

Desperate characters, and those destitute of principle, property, or responsibility, are generally the most eager to obtain public office or employ, that they may embezzle a fortune, or increase their wealth out of the public property, by dishonest management ; and especially when examples of success seem to encourage and justify their desires and expectations. Such cases are certainly alarming to the public concern, when, and wherever they exist, and require constant watchfulness.

There are other seekers after public office or employ, who, from ignorance, indolence, carelessness, or a lack of real qualifications and habits of business, should be cautiously avoided, as they generally prove worse than a dead weight to the public concern.

Public servants are far more likely to violate the proper duties of their stations, from carelessness, and *design*, than from a lack

of sufficient talents and information to know and perform their duties.

Any man, of common prudence and discernment, would naturally dismiss from his further confidence and employ, a person who should wilfully neglect to give him seasonable and proper information of the trespasses of others on his property, and of the treacherous or unfaithful conduct of those in his confidence or employ—more especially those who should openly attempt to palliate such misconduct, or secretly connive at the perpetration and escape of offenders. And certainly the public good requires that our government concerns should be managed, with at least as much wisdom and prudence, as an ordinary individuals.

A proper DISTRIBUTION of the offices and agencies of government, is one of the most important and unquestionable republican rules, that has ever been established.

I can hardly help viewing a man, invested with a number of different offices and agencies, as a kind of POLITICAL MONSTER, with an unusual number of *heads*, *legs*, and *fangs*, to annoy and devour mankind with, as his appetite and opportunities may urge him and favour his indulgence.

There is perhaps no republican rule or regulation, in proportion to its apparent importance, of more vital necessity to the perpetuity and well being of a republican community, than a rigid adherence to a ROTATION in office.

Men, long in the exercise of public authority, however republican and well disposed they may have been on their first appointment, are extremely liable to forget their accountability and employers interest, and think only of their own ease, riches, and aggrandizement.

By removing public officers and agents, once in a while, not only reminds them of their dependence and accountability, but generally brings their conduct to the test of inspection; and finally interrupts, breaks off and defeats the corrupt intrigues, and systems of favouriteism, that long established power often generates and indulges.

It frequently happens, that, after obtaining an election or appointment to office, men cease their public inquiries, and are

soon left greatly in rear of the progress of political information and public improvement. They seem to have no further regard for truth, or the public good—nothing but their own private ends. Having ascended to their favorite station, they carefully endeavour to haul up, or secure the ladder of their political elevation, for fear others might attempt to ascend and disturb their possession. Some times they actually put one in mind of a greedy old sow, who, after obtaining permission, by long grunting and squeaking, to put her head into the pail and take one mouthful, eagerly attempts to *swallow her fill*, or UPSET THE WHOLE !

The FAITHFUL DISCHARGE of public services, should be considered *honourable*, and in proportion to the general magnitude of the trust, and of the abilities and fidelity displayed in the performance—and not in the mere *possession* of an office.

Public servants should not be sinecures or pensioners, and paid for what their services do not in fact *merit*.

Nothing can be more manifestly unjust and absurd, than to render public service more lucrative than private employment, as it pays away the public money unnecessarily, and excites intrigue and political *juggling* to obtain public office and employ.

If those in the public employ, were not allowed, directly nor indirectly, to receive *more* value than their services were actually worth, we should soon cease to be troubled with the tricks and intrigues that are now often resorted to for the obtainment of public office or employ. There would be no extra gains in prospect to justify the expensive juggling or management for an office, contract or agency.

Monarchs, and those in the exercise of considerable power, held in contempt of the people, are generally obliged to PENSION those whom they employ, or entrust with considerable power or secrets of government, both while in, and out of their employ, in order to BRIBE them to the secrets of their masters policy and conduct.

This is one of the most precious *charms* that monarchy holds out to the little hankerers after power and perquisite ; and is the chief reason why office seekers generally prefer monarchy to a republican government. Monarchy also requires a greater number

of lucrative agencies and employments, than a republic. But, THE PEOPLE, have to sweat and groan for these numerous public employments, high salaries, and pensions. It is this policy that oppresses and degrades the honest labour of the old world.

Political Reflections, No. 2.

OATHS, to the officers and agents of government, are of little use or necessity, where there is no secret and discretionary performances or exercise of power. Pecuniary bonds are most properly relied upon, in such cases.

Oaths to legislative, judicial, and executive officers, and those required of *lawyers*, on being admitted to practice, should define, *explicitly*, and *extensively*, the general course of conduct proper for each of them to pursue—and always should be *written*, and *subscribed*, and filed on public records: so that they might be *enforced*, something in the nature of a contract, when violated to the injury of any one, and the offenders subjected to damages and other suitable punishment.

There ought, if possible, to be a standard provided for regulating the compensation, of those who make, and administer the laws, by which *they* should be made to feel the burdens and distresses occasioned by a change of times, as well as other people.

In the present extremely depressed price of property, (1819—20,) the officers and agents of our states and general government, who have certain and fixed salaries and rates of compensation, are generally the *gainers* by every thing that operates as an oppression upon the community; and are therefore rather interested and inclined to *create* and *prolong* public embarrassment and distress, than in promptly devising and executing measures for our relief, and for preventing like unhappy occurrences in future—more especially if they are lawyers, and sharpers, who thrive in their individual professions, and speculative concerns,

on the pecuniary embarrassments and distresses of their fellow men.

Legislatures should consider themselves bound to consult and adopt measures best calculated to promote the general interest and welfare of the *whole* nation, state, or other community, with-in their special care. In this way, every good and wholesome trade, profession, and interest, may be duly fostered, and the whole preserved and prospered. A member who cannot elevate or expand his mind beyond the local prejudices and limited interests of a few individuals, is not fit to legislate or act for the general concern.

Legislators usually acquire a considerable part, or most of their information on subjects of legislative investigation, by enquiries and discussions carried on among themselves and others, *out of the house, and hours of session* ; so that members who are not qualified or disposed to take an active part in public debating—regular *speech making*, often do more to promote, correct an efficient legislation, than a number of more blustering and noisy members. Besides, what is done out of the house and usual hours of session, is generally a saving to the public concern ; while long winded and quibbling members, (political *bullies*, *blackguards* and *jugglers*,) often perplex, embarrass and detain the proceedings of legislative assemblies, or some how finally defeat the correct and effectual objects of legislation—to the great expense and injury of the community at large. Such characters should certainly be *marked*, and cautiously avoided in future—as we shun poisonous drugs and other dilaterious articles. One good *thinker*, and voter, is generally worth a dozen quibbling and noisy legislators.

In discussing subjects before a legislative body, the members ought to be permitted to write down their remarks in full, and read them, or have them read by a clerk of the house, or some other person.

This practice, would enable members to refine and abridge their ideas, on subjects before them ; and at the same time accommodate those who were not professionally or otherwise in the habit of *public speaking*.

The *reported* speeches of our legislators, are generally defective, partial, and calculated to deceive the public in regard to the conduct of their own immediate representatives. In the first place, the speeches and other legislative proceedings, are only a part taken down, and but a small number of those are ever published entire. Such, for instance, as are generally calculated to give the *best* and *worst* view of different men, and different measures.

In many, if not in most of the speeches published, the matter sketched down by the reporters, undergoes a review and final *improvement*, by their authors, or others. Many are abridged, and such matter or parts as are not calculated to *appear well*, or to set off their reputed authors to the best advantage, before their constituents and the public, are generally *suppressed*, as a matter of *favour*, by the reporters or publishers.

Some of our highest public officers, have a dangerous power and influence in community, from the great, and continually increasing numbers that depend on them for office and employment.

For instance, the president of the United States—the immense number that already depend on his will and favor for their stations and support !

We have perhaps been fortunate, in the selection and choice of our presidents ; but suppose some unprincipled and daring character in full possession of that important office—what political purpose could he not accomplish, by his immense power and patronage, and especially if favoured in his designs, by secret operations of internal and foreign foes to our liberty and independence !

Suppose the *holy alliance*, in their endeavours to check the progress and examples of revolutions in favour of popular government—if they should move the secret springs of action and set the machine in motion, who could stop it, or tell where it would end, as the power is now vested ?

The president has the chief command of the *purse* and the *sword* of the nation—being commander in chief of the army, and navy, and having the supreme executive authority of the union, chiefly concentrated in his single person. He can, in a great measure, controul, directly and indirectly, the selection, appoint-

ment, and continuance in the public service, of most of the military and civil executive officers and agents under the general government, and direct their operations ; he can *pardon* (like the pope,) criminal and other offenders, and remit pecuniary penalties, and other forfeitures, after a full conviction, and thereby, in a degree, paralyze the laws of our national government.

These things, all taken together, seem prodigious, for a community of republicans, who do not profess to believe in the *infallibility* of a single individual ; more especially when it is considered that there is no necessity for continuing the practice, whatever the national good might formerly have required.

The chief fortune and fate of a nation, is certainly too important a concern to be entrusted to a single individual, as chief of all the principal active authorities.

A SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, composed of *five* persons, one from each of five great national districts, to be chosen by the free-men or electors thereof, for *five* years, so arranged in the beginning, that one should go out, and a new one come into the council, every succeeding year ; the oldest member, for his fifth and last year, to be president of the council.

Such a council, to be substituted in the room of our president and vice president, would mainly obviate the dangers and imperfections of our supreme head.

It would be uniting, as it were in our supreme executive national head, the knowledge and capacities of five equal persons, practically acquainted with the different sections and concerns of our country, all chosen by, and responsible to the people ; and thereby guarding against the inabilities, partialities and casualties that appertain to a single chief.

It would also create far greater responsibility in supreme executive officers, by bringing their election nigher home to their immediate constituents.

In case of the death or inability of our president, as the case now stands, it would generally require some time for the vice president to repair to the seat of national government and collect the reins faithfully into his hands.

Let the senate choose their presiding officer from among themselves.

Such a regulation, would check the wasteful, vexatious and corrupt intrigue and juggling, that is sometimes carried on during an electioneering campaign for a president ; and ultimately do away many pernicious local prejudices and partialities. It would also give every considerable section of the nation their regular turn in furnishing a president or chief executive magistrate of the federal union ; and save congress from their disgraceful squabbles about favorite chiefs.

The revolution furnished us more tried and prominent characters to select a chief from, than we have now, or perhaps ever shall have again ; and yet the duties and responsibilities of the office of our president are daily increasing, by our extension of territory, and increase of numbers, and still more by *new* branches and business, constantly undertaking by the general government.

As the case now is, the president has an almost resistless power and influence, in securing his own re-election, and in the selection and final choice of his successor.

A single executive chief, can also indulge his private and *local* prejudices and partialities, in the selection and control of the officers and agencies of the general government, to the ultimate detriment of one section or part of the union, and for the benefit of another.

It is indeed extremely difficult to acquire sufficient knowledge and experience, for the transaction of the affairs of the general government, of a high political character, without the patronage of the president. He is, for a time, in a measure, the political *sovereign* of our chief national executive concerns.

The president of the supreme executive council, should, of course, devote his attention to the duties of chief magistrate of the union ; but the other four of the council, might appropriate a part of their time to a kind of general superintendence of the four highest or most important departments ; beginning with the lowest or least important, and progressively shifting, each year, until they come to the highest, the fourth year of their executive term. This would afford them peculiar and important advantages in acquiring a correct and extensive knowledge of our chief

national concerns, and add to their qualifications for presiding their fifth and last year.

The policy of Satan.

PAPISTS, or the chief leaders of the church of Rome, derived their principal *craft* from the arts practised by satan on our first parents. The fallen angel, who had been cast out of Paradise for his unprincipled conduct, was wandering about the world, miserable and discontented, when he discovered the felicity and contentment enjoyed by the happy pair in Eden, which stung him to the quick—to see others enjoying that happiness which he had forfeited and lost! and finally induced him to attempt their annoyance. After studying the objects of his *envy* and evil designs, he at length approached the weakest, with all the subtlety and pleasing cunning he could possibly assume, for the moment. He told young Eve, among other flattering things, how divinely *handsome* she was;—said she ought to *rule* her husband; but as she had not the bodily strength to do it by main force, she must endeavour to accomplish her purposes by artful *management*—get the *lead*, by studied smiles, flattering words, and other little artifices and cunning. This, “*the evil one*” probably foresaw, would cause a contention among the human race, and ultimately prevent much happiness.

The most crafty of the papal leaders, or priests of the church of Rome, undertook to improve this art to their purposes, for ruling the strong by the use of the weak. They generally study to select the *handsomest* young men for priests, and require them to live *single*, in order to facilitate their intrigues with women.*

* When the Spanish inquisition was overturned a few years ago, and its books were seized upon and submitted to inspection, it was found that in the small province of Murica, one of the least extensive and populous in Spain, the provincial tribunal of the inquisition had actually instituted no less than seven thousand prosecutions against priests for attempting the seduction of their female penitents.—*Niles' Register*.

And, by the use of women, children and other weak persons in society, they have contrived and managed to exercise the most horrid despotism over a considerable part of the human family.

The priests of the holy inquisition, and those of their *craft* or policy generally—in addition to the use they make of bankrupts and people of desperate fortunes and characters, employ, as their privileged *spies*, wives on their husbands, children on their parents, and servants and domestics generally, on their masters or employers; to observe their conversation and conduct, and endeavour to ascertain their *thoughts*, and especially their private opinions of the ruling clergy, and their works and designs, and to report the same to them, secretly, at their *confessions*—to enable them to execute their will and purposes, and, as much as possible, TO RULE IN SECRET!

Brief general remarks on a variety of subjects.

THE art of *reasoning*, from correct principles, is one of the greatest sciences of human acquirement; and is the *key* to all other arts.

It is not a great deal we want, to enable us to encompass all the real goods and happiness, that we are well capable of enjoying, or that this world is able to bestow, if we only reason correctly.

The man who desires a great deal more than he can reasonably possess, is always distressed with want, however much he may have.

The ascent of ambition, is like climbing a *pole*—the higher we go, the more we see, the more we want, and the more danger there is to be apprehended from falling.

True virtue, is naturally of a sincere, modest and retiring character—fond of peace and rural enjoyments: The fruits of a good conscience, and a reasonable mind.

Vice, is of an affected, blustering, and often popular character—the absence of truth and reason. The painted harlot, and designing knave, often assume a more specious or pleasing aspect, for the moment, in the eyes of deluded or unthinking beings, than true virtue and excellence, in all their solid and unaffected charms.

A virtuous and philosophical mind, well stored with information and matter for reflection, enters into society with *itself*, and shuts out the world with its chief cares and perplexities. It feasts on the wisdom, goodness and perfection of nature, and enjoys an almost uninterrupted banquet of intellectual pleasures and delights.

In our pleasures of eating, drinking, sleeping, and the gratification of all our bodily desires, man varies but little from the brutes; but in our *intellectual* enjoyments, the human capacity is almost boundless.

An ignorant old man, is one of the miserablest creatures in life. As the sallies of youth cease to cheer him, he looks forward with doubt and apprehensions, of the account he shall be able to render, at the call of final justice, for the time and talents that have been allowed him, and he looks back without the conscious satisfaction of having lived a well spent life.

How happy are they, who, on gradually retiring from an active and well spent life, hear the sweet sounds of eternal justice tingling in their ears, of “WELL DONE, THOU GOOD AND FAITHFUL, ENTER INTO THE JOYS OF THE BLESSED!”

We should endeavor to derive some useful ideas or information, from every considerable circumstance or situation we may witness or pass through in life, and hand the same down to posterity, by precept and example.

Early records, and habits of noticing such matters, tend greatly to *preserve* our useful ideas, extend their use to others, and to promote human improvements in general.

Every succeeding generation, ought, indeed, to grow wiser than their ancestors; for it would be absurd to suppose that mankind

would not be benefitted by all the experience, demonstrations and records of those who had gone before them.

Refining and arranging our ideas, on subjects and matters of usefulness, is like separating the wheat from the chaff, or like selecting the ore, and refining the metal from the dross and impurities, and preparing the same for useful and important purposes.

A man without system, in his general habits and concerns in life, may be mainly regarded as acting from the impulse and opportunities of the moment, and without any particular respect to the principles of moral and political justice.

By reading and hearing, we learn what *others* knew ; and by thinking and practice, we acquire information *ourselves*.

It is generally easier to bring up a dozen children right, than to reform one grown blockhead.

Ruminating antiquity for improvements, is something like going *backwards* to make progress ahead.

By adopting ancient usages as fit examples for our present conduct, without examining into their fitness and propriety, is ultimately staying every error and absurdity, to the embarrassment and exclusion of truth and reason, and of actual improvement.

We are often but half obliged, to those who would be friends, or the benefactors of mankind, when they only warn us of our dangers, errors or inconsistencies, without pointing out the better way, or enabling us to make some actual *improvement* in our course, operations, or final condition.

I hardly know which is least worthy of human confidence, a knave, or a fool, for a knave will wrong you designedly, and a fool is generally a tool in the hands of every knave who may choose to employ him ; but a man must be a fool to be a knave,

and little knaves are the fools and tools of older or more expert knaves, and the *devil* is the head or chief of all knaves.

Mankind are generally apt to attempt *too complicated* views, on the subjects of moral and political science, and thereby often get their minds bewildered, without well comprehending, even a part.

In order to form a correct estimate of society, and especially with a view to effect an actual improvement in the moral and political condition thereof, it is necessary, in the first place, to examine and understand all the parts, separately—consider their nature, tendency, proportions, stations and general fitness for their various purposes, with a view to the best possible general result. And then, when these parts are well understood, the whole may be viewed in operation together.

The same as a skilful and judicious mechanic, builder, or engineer, examine their materials, and then arrange, proportion and construct their work and designs, to produce the desired result in the best manner.

Society is made up of a great many different professions, occupations, characters, habits, interests and conditions of life, all of which have their peculiar inclinations, connections, and bearings or final results.

These are the A, B, C's of moral and political science.

In compounding and tempering the public morals, habits and customs of life, doctors, either from ignorance or design, are perpetually liable to *extremes*, that ultimately prove a DISEASE, rather than effect a cure of common evils.

For example ; too much religious discipline and instruction, is apt to inculcate vain notions, and finally end in bigotted, superstitious, hypocritical, oppressive and degrading ceremonies and examples, rather than cultivate and establish good and practical morals, and improve our happiness positively.

Too much law doctrine, is liable to degenerate rules designed for the protection of our persons and property, into complex and obscure systems, that ultimately serve as crooked instruments in the hands of learned, wealthy and designing individuals, for plundering, persecuting and oppressing their fellow-men.

Consequently, where there is the greatest excess or indulgence of priests, and lawyers, there the people are generally the most liable to be *priest-ridden*, and *lawyer-ridden*.

Court and church, *magnificence* and *splendour*, costs more human misery than all the avowed infidelity on earth. They serve to *cloak* and *gild* the abominable deeds of OVERGROWN VICE.

Forms and *ceremonies*, are the LIFE-GUARDS of despotism and aristocracy. They were intended to keep the common people in ignorance, and in awe, the better to disguise the deeds of crowned or sacramental heads; many of whose acts, would otherways appear, even more barbarous than the rude savages of the wilderness.

Unprincipled men in power, will neither promote the public good themselves, nor permit others to do it. Such characters generally regard a public benefactor, with jealousy and bitterness; although they commonly study to disguise the true cause of their hatred, in order to avoid the public indignation or contempt, and to favor the indulgence of their private hostility and evil designs. Their conduct, when contrasted with that of a real friend of mankind, *demonstrates* their baseness and inferiority, and places them so manifestly in the wrong as to render arguments unnecessary to prove the fact.

Ask a virtuous and enlightened people, who are their best friends, and they will tell you, those, who finally do the most good in society, with the least proportionate trouble and expense:

It is ridiculous for a nation or people to pretend their veneration and regard for virtue and public usefulness, while they deliberately elevate to stations of profit and honour, notorious and unrelenting libertines, profligates and knaves, or other foes to common justice, and the good of society.

How would a public magistrate appear, punishing others for the same offences of which he had been notoriously and unre-

lently *guilty himself*? Perhaps a judge on the bench, or other executive officer, admonishing, convicting or punishing a culprit, convict or party, for the offence of *seduction*, *gambling*, *adultery*, *fraudulent conspiracy*, *swindling* or the like transgressions, of which himself had been notoriously guilty.

Justice, enforced by precept and example, has a *treble* influence on society.

Liberty, without licentiousness, would afford but poor picking for lawyers.

One trading, speculating, defaulting, failing, cheating, vagrant, treacherous, quarrelsome or worthless character, is generally worth more to *lawyers*, than fifty or an hundred honest and prudent farmers, mechanics, or others who live upon the fruits of their own useful industry, and do not attempt to wrong others, or disturb the peace of society.

Men who have been professionally in the habit of advocating right or *wrong*, just as suited their own, or client's purposes; and of perplexing and spinning out every subject to its greatest possible length, to increase their own business and gains, would be extremely liable to make quibbling legislators, and crooked magistrates.

Men who have been in the habit of employing artifices to conceal the offences of *others*, and to facilitate their evasion of justice, or to aid and assist their designs and efforts to rob, persecute and oppress their fellow beings, will scarcely scruple to employ the same means for their *own* accommodation, whenever a temptation or opportunity occurs.

The lawyers of this country, generally, with a few highly honorable exceptions, if left to themselves, would be just about as unlikely to correct their own crooked policy and conduct, as the priests of the old world, wherever they have the chief rule.

When a man has a professional policy, or private purpose to answer, which is at variance with common honesty, or the public good, he becomes infinitely more dangerous, in the possession and exercise of public confidence and authority, and especially as a *public magistrate, teacher, or guide*.

The knaves and tyrants of the new world, are probably as hostile to truth, virtue, justice and human improvement, as those of the old world, only they are not yet so fully established in power, and have not the same means to obtain a complete gratification.

The authors of accomplished villainy, frequently use some charitable donation, as a *bait* for their snares, or *cover* to their *traps* and treachery.

Such characters often engage in the commencement or promotion of some popular establishment, enterprise or undertaking, to serve as a kind of *MUSICK*, to *charm* the public senses, and to *drown* the cries and agonies of their robbed, wounded or distressed victims.

When the coarse and vulgar villains of society, have committed an outrage upon the person or property of a fellow being, to gratify or serve their excessive appetite, lust, avarice, malice, treachery or revenge, sometimes they take the *lives* of their victims, in order to prevent them from giving evidence or information against them; but when the more learned and accomplished villains trespass on the persons, property or privileges of others, they generally study to conceal the facts, by ensnaring, intimidating and shackling the press, and the general freedom of speech, *to prevent the truth from being told*, and by endeavours to destroy the character and reputation of their victims, *to prevent the truth from being believed, when told*. There are also other stratagems and ways of taking people's lives, without having recourse to *immediate* or *direct* assassination; and by which the learned, wealthy, and those in power, generally contrive to despatch *their* victims.

When hypocrisy and bigotry have perverted and calloused the

understandings of mankind, so that truth and reason, in their ordinary address, are not heard or regarded, it then becomes necessary to speak out in language as loud and forcible as *thunder*, and as keen and penetrating as *lightning*.

Tell me what government you have rebelled against, and under what circumstances you have acted, and I will tell you whether you are a villain, or a patriot, a wise man, or a fool.

Let those who are nothing of *themselves*, to be proud of, boast of their *birth* or family connections, and thus proclaim their own degenerate and fallen condition.

Those, who, by arms or other means, *forcibly enslave* their fellow men, without any forfeiture of natural liberty on the part of the enslaved, are often worse than *cannibals*, who only *eat* their vanquished and dead foes.

The fierceness and cruelty of a greedy or malignant foe, is *increased* by the cries and agonies of his wounded victim.

Artful and corrupt *professional policy*, often cramps and deforms more real genius, by unnecessary, arbitrary and hypocritical rules and regulations, than perhaps all other causes put together.

One of the chief causes why virtue and liberty generally decline with the age of governments, is, that power has been mainly in the hands of those, whose very *professions* thrive on the ignorance, wounds and depravity of society.

When I estimate mankind by their *professions*, I am inclined to regard justice and virtue, as honorable and desirable ; but were I to judge them by their *actions*, and especially to *compare* their precepts with their practice, I should be almost obliged to consider the world as a cheat, and the biggest cheat as the best fellow : but this is the present corrupt and hypocritical world, as it has been rendered by *kingcraft*, *priestcraft*, *schoolcraft*, *literary-*

craft, witch-craft, law-craft, and war-craft—but not as it might be, and should be.

I can hardly help regarding every thorough bred and understanding monarchist, as a cheat in theory, if not in practice, and every designing cheat, as a monarchist in *practice*, if not in profession.

Those who are the least deserving of honorable distinctions, are generally the most eager to obtain nominal titles.

A person elevated to a station by the aid of *others*, and one raised to wealth and distinction by *his own merits*, should be very differently estimated : The former, generally passes for more than worth, and the latter is often greatly under valued.

Nations, like individuals, when they form treaties *offensive*, may be said to *agree* as well as old Pooler and his wife, who *agreed to fight* !

King-craft, naturally makes man the worst enemy of his own species, in order that he may be rendered instrumental to the robbery, persecution and oppression of his fellow men.

King-craft, would pervert the best talents of human nature, into instruments and playthings to suit

“ low ambition and the pride of kings,”

instead of having them cultivated and applied to the best use, for the general good of mankind.

Actions that manifest a contempt for the rights and feelings of others, is monarchy in practice—whatever the understanding or intention may be.

Justice and *reason*, have but little to do with knaves and tyrants. *Force* and *fraud* are their chief agents.

Men who attempt to play the tyrant, on however small a scale, generally refuse to assign *reasons* for their actions and designs, and particularly to the victims of their fraud and oppression.

Man, perfectly civilized, is the subject of truth, justice and reason.

Monarchy, teaches mankind to *deceive*, *oppress*, and *destroy* their fellow men ; but republicanism, like christianity, teaches us to *enlighten*, *unshackle*, and *save* our fellow beings.

Monarchy teaches men to harden the feelings of their fellow beings ; and to make their *ignorance* and misfortunes a justification for their being robbed, persecuted, and enslaved : republicanism, (and Christianity, which are essentially the same in justice and humanity,) requires us to soften and *humanize* the feelings and dispositions of our brethren of the human family ; and finally to make their ignorance and misfortunes, the subject of our *compassion* and forbearance.

True charity, begins at home. How often do we see people making a mighty fuss and parade, about contributing for the instruction, relief or happiness of strangers, or people in a distant or foreign country, when they are surrounded at home by the miserable victims of their own meanness, deceit, oppression and cruelty ? And perhaps the chief reason why they are not warned, or mended of their faults, is the general lack of virtue and intelligence among their own people !

A mind that is given up to treachery, seldom sees itself. The creature is all eyes, ears and mouth—but no soul within which, the subjects of virtue, (relying upon the eternal justice, wisdom and power of the Creator,) recline, with so much sweetness, satisfaction and contentment.

He who smiles at the commission of a crime, or trifles with the

offence, is generally as destitute of principle, or understanding, as the perpetrator.

If one person gives a bribe, and another receives it, the first who complains of the offence, should not only be exonerated from punishment, but be rewarded, for enabling a detection of the fact. If this plan was judiciously managed, it would soon put a material stop to bribery.

There are few tricks of the learned craft, played off to deceive and defraud the common people, more base and hypocritical, than many of their *disinterested* pretensions.

Let me know a man's *interest*, and I can generally tell his principles.

Men who obtain public office or employ by false and deceitful artifices and representations, will generally devote their opportunities to defraud their employers.

Law, without justice, is like religion without morality; and both are generally fit instrument for the service of satan.

Priestcraft aids and sanctifies fraud, religiously, and *lawcraft*, litigiously.

Priest-craft artfully obscures the light of Heaven in *mystery*; and law-craft studiously involves the principles of justice and equity in *uncertainty*.

Who, or which profession have been the most active and instrumental in persecuting public benefactors, that of priests, or lawyers?

While the knaves and tyrants of society, are *openly* contributing to honor and reward *one* patriot or public benefactor, they are often secretly trampling on, or conspiring to suppress and destroy, perhaps a dozen rising individuals of the same character.

PUBLIC PARADES, often afford hypocrites and designing knaves, a peculiar opportunity to display their *outside show* to the greatest advantage. The rich, haughty and overbearing aristocrats, are thus put up to *outshow* real merit. Vice and folly are thus pampered, and apparently exalted, and virtue and wisdom, insulted, and put down—that is, in the estimation of ignorant or unthinking beings—never otherways.

In the impulse, ebbs and flows of public passions, there is an era of good, and of bad feelings ; of which knaves and tyrants are perpetually studying to take the advantage, to effect their base and crooked designs and purposes. It is, therefore, of general importance that the people should be aware of it, in order the better to detect and defeat such designs.

Human liberty is as often violated, and finally entangled and destroyed, from the lack of proper *attention* on the part of the people, as from their ignorance or want of knowledge.

Men of corrupt minds, and despotic habits or indulgences, hypocritically represent remonstrances and arguments, however just and reasonable, when urged against their conduct or designs, as *scolding*—while in fact these very same little knaves and tyrants themselves, are more in the habit of raving, pouting and *scolding*, when any thing crosses their will, than any other class of men.

MORALITY, truly considered, does not abridge one solid or rational enjoyment ; but on the contrary, it augments and improves our happiness, in the most sure, substantial and lasting manner.

A good moral habit—a system of general conduct judiciously arranged before hand, is the course of true wisdom.

As health, general competence, and a long life, are desirable, so should we practice *temperance*, for intemperance is the parent of debility, disease, poverty, and death.

Mark the dissipated, profligate and lewd character, and calculate their ruin, and most assuredly you will avoid their wretched fate and example.

To acquire true honor, and enjoy the comforts of a tolerable competence, regard temperance in all things, for it is the surest guide to health, wealth, and honor.

EXCESSES, in eating, drinking, frolicking, sporting, and in the indulgence of our lust, anger or other extreme passions or desires—like a deluge, fire or tornado, upon the natural earth, have a tendency to drown, prostrate, disfigure, wound or destroy the real beauties, worth and excellence of the human constitution and character.

IGNORANCE—*wrong information, or a lack of knowing the actual truth of whatever concerns us*, is the main cause of human misconduct ; for it would be a burlesque upon reason and common sense, to suppose that rational beings would, voluntarily and *knowingly* do any thing against their own general happiness.

We all prefer happiness to misery, and should always pursue the most pure and lasting enjoyments, if we could rightly, and seasonably, comprehend their true character and course.

Wrong information, delusion, and a lack of knowing the actual truth of whatever concerns us, are the real *snares* and *stumbling-blocks* of human life.

To acquire a general and correct knowledge of the truths that concern us, and thereby avoid the evil consequences of error, requires considerable mental and bodily exertion ; but the reward is abundantly equal to the undertaking.

Here the duty of parents, guardians, and instructors, assumes an immense responsibility, and importance, in giving true and valuable impressions, and in correcting erroneous ideas, examples and information. This duty, well performed, is of far greater consequence to the youth, than great wealth without such instruction.

Some priests, have raised up or created a *phantom*, which they call the devil, and attack with great boldness ; while they seldom interfere with those who are playing the *real* devil in society.

No wonder that tyrants and knaves in power, should be afraid

of information, and arms, in possession of the people, lest they should discern, and resume their suppressed rights, and perhaps *resent* some of the insults, oppressions and cruelties they had experienced.

But a virtuous and wise man, duly invested with public authority, has rather an occasion to rejoice at the intelligence and force of his constituents.

In a republic, the people are chiefly *their own guards* ; and are generally stationed where their protection is the most needed—namely, to guard their own persons and property.

The chief excuse for the existence and continuation of monarchy or arbitrary government, is the *ignorance* and *depravity* of the people ; but if this was really an excuse that would justify the necessity of suppressing human liberty, and those who control the exercise of this absolute power, were desirous of improving the condition of the people, they would adopt measures to have them truly *enlightened*, and their vices *corrected* ; so as to enlarge their freedom, and regularly reduce the restraints upon their conduct, as they became more virtuous and enlightened.

But, instead of this course, the chiefs, and others who controul the education and government of the subjects of monarchy, *prohibit* the light of truth, and the progress of reason, and human improvement, generally, with the most eager jealousy and inquisitive concern, and openly license and encourage the most destructive and fatal examples of ignorance and depravity.

In every civilized and well regulated community, there ought to be a perfect harmony and co-operation, between the standards of morality, honour, and the spirit and practice of the law.

Our newspapers teem with legislation and projects for *making laws*, but seldom meddle with the EXECUTION thereof—the final ENDS of government, which is ten fold more important to the well-being of the people.

It requires a great deal of examination, reflection and watchfulness, to eradicate, and guard against the introduction, and effects of *kingcraft*, and all its corrupt, hypocritical and subordinate agents, policies and designs, which are artfully interwoven, and mixed with our systems of education, religion, government, history, language, laws, fashions, news, information, customs and habits of life, and what still continues to invade us, in some shape or manner, from the presses, workshops and agents of the old world.

A community of republicans, living together in terms of equity, mutual protection, and social intercourse one with another—each individual enjoying the just fruits of his own honest industry and merit, with nothing to hope from efforts to injure others, and nothing to fear from the evil actions or designs of others to injure him, is the greatest acquisition of human virtue and wisdom, and would be the most interesting and sublime object the world ever saw.

The only way to make a fair estimate of the general character of a government, or of the condition of those under its care and control, is to take an AVERAGE of the WHOLE—all the different parts, places, people, grades and conditions, and then to *contrast* them with the general character and condition of the people and government of another country, state or nation, and see where the people AVERAGE the most rational advantages of government, and for the least expense.

Suppose, for example, we apply the foregoing rule to all the places and people under the dominion, care and control of the British government, including Ireland, India, &c. and then compare their *average* results with the people and government of the United States—how important the contrast would be, in favour of our system of government! And yet, the British government is considered the most favourable one in the old world—except, perhaps the Swiss.

What, in all probability, would have been the present moral and

political condition of England, had it not been for her Botany Bay, and numerous other places for the forced transportation, and voluntary exile, of her home-bred subjects ?

Unprincipled men in power, generally *pension* those whom they dismiss from stations of considerable trust or confidence, in order to keep them from exposing the secrets of their master's policy and conduct !

We often hear it said, that a certain individual has had an office *given* him, and as a particular mark of personal friendship, or as a compensation or reward for his *former* good services. From which an intelligent and reflecting mind would rationally conclude that public offices were sometimes *sold*—not *given* away, and that their salaries or incomes, were *more* than a fair compensation for the services to be rendered—so as to afford them a certain gain beyond what the services actually merited.

Men of principle, generally take into consideration the *end* of every considerable act they intentionally and understandingly pursue.

Unprincipled and despotic men, sensible of their unjust and cruel conduct and designs, are constantly plotting some new and plausible scheme, device or apology, to patch up and conceal their wretched conduct and characters.

Instead of conforming to the general standard of virtue, justice and reason, established for human actions, knaves often endeavour to make their own crooked policy and conduct, a rule and guide for others.

Only convince mankind of a future state of rewards and punishments, and that a certain man, or set of men, have the “*keys*” of heaven and hell, whereby they can *save* or *damn* whom they please, and a more complete despotism over the human character, cannot well be conceived of. But I pity the people who are kept in sufficient ignorance and bondage to believe and be led by such a persuasion.

“ Impious worm of the dust ! ” would any mortal being pretend that God had specially invested man with a *sovereignty* over human souls !

It is just as consistent with the true principles of civilization, for nations, as it would be for individuals, to appeal to arms—to *see which can do the other the most harm*, on any considerable difference ; instead of settling their matters and various concerns, by written, definite and established laws, peaceably administered, by judicious and established tribunals.

When one nation keeps up a horde of mercenary robbers and assassins, ready to let loose upon a neighboring nation, whenever they are off their guard, or rendered particularly vulnerable, the neighboring nations are obliged to resort to similar preparations, in order to be able to defend themselves in case of an attack.

But if all nations, pretendedly civilized, would dispense with warlike aggressions, and rely upon a truly civilized code of international law, and a just and reasonable tribunal for carrying the same into effect, there would be no need or justification in keeping up large warlike forces and military preparations, and especially in times of professed peace and amity. And this would undoubtedly be accomplished, if the general good of the whole people was properly consulted and regarded.

What a strange sight it often affords, to a civilized, enlightened and reflecting mind, to behold nations, professedly a *civilized* and *christian* people, holding the main body of their citizens in subordination by the constant application of the force of arms !

It is equally wonderful to see neighboring nations in professed amity and friendship—perhaps their sovereigns are blood connections, keeping strong military guards on their frontier or division lines.

One would imagine that sovereign princes had not much confidence in the faith or good intentions of each other.

Aristocracy would render industry and usefulness, or true merit, contemptible, and indolence and folly respectable.

Fashions of dress, manners and customs, are often artfully contrived to nurse the aristocratic, haught, vanity and deceit of mankind, to their own general degradation and ruin.

Too much money, ruins young men, more fatally than the *lack* of money.

Rules, were intended as leading-strings for simpletons, and shackles for rogues—but never should be permitted to cramp the genius of honest and enlightened minds.

Unjust and severe rules or restrictions upon human rights and liberties, has a tendency to provoke desperate actions, which often *seem* to justify arbitrary government.

One good *thinker*, is generally worth a dozen quibbling gabblers, in a deliberative assembly or body of men.

Addressed to Liberty, during a disastrous period of the war of 1812.

O LIBERTY ! thou celestial goddess of virtue, science, and human felicity—thou, whose cause has been consecrated by the blood of heroes, and the tears of innocence, and whom saints have knelt to adore, forsake not my country, I beseech you ; but continue thy fostering influence over the people of this new and rising nation—peradventure they may yet erect a temple worthy of thy residence and future glory.

On viewing a statue, representing Washington with sandals on and otherways habited as men appeared in their half savage state, some two or three thousand years ago, it was asked whether Washington ever dressed so ? O, no, was the answer ; why, then, continued the inquirer, did they not represent him truly, as he used to dress and appear ? the reply was that this was more *classical* than his real dress and appearance !

Yes, reader, in the true style of ancient literature, *fiction*, trick and artifice, is regarded as more learned and eminent, than the plain and undeviating truth—that is, hypocrisy and treachery, artfully and ably embellished, represented and managed, is considered, even at the present day, by some, who would take the lead in matters of education, taste and refinement generally, as more learned, fashionable and elevated, than truth, or unaffected worth and excellence.

Sophists, or literary knaves and dunces, would impute more to the *manner*, than to the matter and real merits of a verbal or written communication.

Monarchy, would establish as the standard of human greatness, the *titles* conferred by their arbitrary rules and authorities.

Our colleges exercise an authority of conferring *degrees*, which they would almost seem to have regarded as the criterion of human worth and excellence.

While the truly good and great, generally set lightly by such conferments, titles and distinctions.

One of the basest and most dangerous arts of kingcraft and its hypocritical co-operators in policy, is the studied *perversion* of the proper meaning and application of words.

Instead of recommending and requiring the restoration of property wrongfully obtained, or making restitution or amends for injuries done to others ; it seems to be the general policy of unprincipled and designing priests and lawyers, to obtain *themselves*, somehow, directly or indirectly, a part at least of the spoil, for the aid and comfort they afford the transgressors !

Evil example, is the very *pilot* of corruption.

Talents, without virtue, is like arms or instruments in the way of robbers and assassins.

Said a bold, discerning, independent, upright and active repub-

lican, I have the honor to be *hated*, by every designed knave and tyrant who truly knows me.

GRATITUDE—is the first law of civilization—a just and proper sense of favours received—such as children owe to faithful parents, and such as is generally due to public and private benefactors.

It is just as impossible for a person to feel a true Christian temper and disposition, without a proper sense of *gratitude*, as it would be to convert a wolf into a lamb.

Ingratitude, is a heedless, cold or malignant temper or disposition—generally the result of a neglected, or hypocritical education ; the manifestations of which, may be considered as the forerunner of treachery and cruelty.

True CHRISTIANITY, mainly consists in *doing as we would be done by* ; or, in scripture language,

“ Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them : for this is the law and the prophets.”

It would be unreasonable to expect, that a profession of men, interested, accustomed and indulged as *lawyers* generally are, would, professionally, or officially, honestly make and administer laws, to afford good and sufficient aid and *protection*, to the works and authors of PUBLIC USEFULNESS.

Let a man undertake to perform a distinguished part as a public benefactor, and he may soon find who are the *wolves* and *vultures* of society.

Self-taught men, generally, are less bigoted, and not so much affected by hypocritical examples, and overbearing policies, as those who have had formal educations : and chiefly because they do not implicitly follow the opinion and designs of others—but examine for themselves, and found their faith in *practical* knowledge, according to the dictates of truth, justice and reason—in their own understanding.

Education fashions the mind, almost as arbitrarily, as art forms metallic and other substances into engines and instruments of human agency.

God ordained the light of truth, justice and reason, for the information and benefit of mankind : but satan, dreading the exposure of his wickedness and deformity of character, and desiring company, as high as possible, in his miserable and degraded condition, set his evil genius to work to counteract the progress of truth, justice, and reason ; and finally to involve the happiness and concerns of mankind, as much as possible, in *moral and political darkness*.

The general freedom of speech, and of the press, are the organs of light and intelligence, indispensable to the existence of a republic.

In a republican country, a man should never be afraid to do any thing, but what was dishonest, inhuman, or mean.

Wrong information given to students, is like misdirection to travellers—the longer they pursue the erroneous course, the further they generally are from the real object of their intentions.

Formerly it used to be the fashion, to call rakes, profligates and libertines, *high fellows* ; but now we begin to rate such as *low* characters.

People use many words *ceremoniously*, without meaning, or being fully sensible of what they say. This is generally the effect of neglected, or hypocritical education and habits. So when an Irish servant overheard his knavish master repeating his prayers, wherein he used the common form of saying, “ *I have done those things I ought not to have done, and left undone that which I ought to have done, and am unworthy to be numbered among the meanest of thy creatures.*” Faith, exclaimed Pat, I am glad to hear you speak the truth, once. Oh ! said the surprised hypocrite, you must not take me in earnest—I only say over these words for *form sake* !

There are some people, who really seem to imagine, that their

" Sunday's piety, blots out the knaveries of the week."

Privileged orders.—Why should one man, more than another, be entitled to have his character investigated at the *public expense*? I here particularly allude to naval and military officers, legislators, judges, and others in public employ; some of whom have cost government much *more than they are worth*, by court martials, and other public inquiries and investigations, carried on to vindicate their conduct and characters. And this, too, when some of the most publicly useful men in the union, while exerting their extraordinary talents and information in the promotion of works, designs and undertakings of great national importance, have been obliged, constantly to defend themselves against the most malicious conspiracies, and sometimes against *the very men invested with public authority for the aid and protection of such persons and undertakings*! Some, who have proved themselves public benefactors, in an eminent degree, have been obliged to *lie upon their arms*, as it were, and while toiling with one hand, defend themselves with the other!

Many of our newspapers, seem to be conducted to serve their *few* advertising, and office juggling employers, to the sacrifice of their far more numerous subscribing and reading customers.

Even those who draw high prizes in lotteries, are not always benefitted, as the sudden possession of considerable property, without acquiring it by some regular business, is apt to lead people into profligate habits, and to ruinous calculations.

Inquiries that have *truth* and *justice* for their general object, concentrate—become more simple, definite and certain, as they progress; but investigations that aim at the evasion and *defeat* of truth and justice—like the juggling of words, scatter, grow more complex, obscure and doubtful, as they progress, and often render that *uncertain*, which, before, was hardly questionable.

Virtuous and active minorities, should always be cherished, and fairly and courteously treated, and regarded as healthy for the body politic. Considerable minorities, in politics, and in religion, are far more likely to be guided by a principle of justice and humanity, than large or overwhelming majorities; because the former generally depend for their justification and support, on the reality and importance of the principles and measures they advocate, or aim to inculcate and establish, while the latter chiefly rely upon the power of their superior *numbers*, to effect their objects.

In fact, most if not all the *reforms* actually made in governments, and religion, favourable to justice and humanity, were the fruits of virtuous and active minorities.

It is, indeed, from the want, or indulgence of virtuous and active minorities, that bigotry and despotism exist, any where, at any considerable length, in religion or politics.

When candidates for office or public preferment, give feasts, treats, or public entertainment, it is necessary that freemen should be *thoughtful*. It may be, they mean no harm; but many have, unconsciously, sold their birthrights, and for that which was equally insignificant or trifling in value, to "*a mess of pottage*."

It is always honorable to *deceive* those who undertake to *control* our voting, by corrupt or arbitrary means. Indeed, it is the bounden *duty* of every friend of justice and rational liberty, to counteract and defeat the *enemy*, in any shape.

Ancient Greece, Rome, and even modern France, had their liberties perverted and overthrown, chiefly by the influence and control of their overgrown and corrupt *cities*—which governed the country. But in this republican nation, the *country* mainly governs legislative bodies; and thereby, in a measure, guards us against the fatal influence and control of large and corrupt cities.

The excitements to the office of *president* of the United States, has become quite alarming, and dangerous to our liberty, from the

magnificence and splendor of the public palace furnished for his official residence, and from the immense and increasing power and patronage of the office.

Some of the ignorant slaves, and the designing advocates of monarchy, from the old world, when travelling in this republican country, wonder, and sometimes profess to cast a reproach upon us, because we have so few of those magnificent temples, costly and splendid palaces, and other extravagances, that like *Juggernauts*, have been the principal engines used to crush, as it were, the chief liberties of the common people of the old world.

All *compromises*, involving principle, are generally made for the want of means to enforce or obtain justice, and for the ultimate benefit of knaves and tyrants.

To say nothing of the lack of experience, in the early stages of human society ; the imperfection of language ; the great difficulty of circulating and extending knowledge, and the consequent ignorance of the people of those periods of time : Ancient history is so dependent on tradition, and so blended with romance, fable and fiction, that it is extremely difficult for people of common talents and information, to know what to believe and depend upon. It is therefore, generally the safest and best way, to confide in nothing that we cannot comprehend consistently with reason and common sense, in order to avoid the impositions, that ignorance and treachery would, otherways, subject us to.

We should endeavour to derive some useful ideas or information, from every considerable subject we read, or hear, and then digest the matter in our own minds, so as to be able to answer the questions definitely, if put to us. For example—after having *read* a book, or other publication, or matter, or *heard* a lecture, oration, sermon, address, speech, or any considerable delivery by voice, let us ask ourselves, or suppose another to make the inquiry, “ Have you derived any *new* and *useful* idea or information, from the same ? and *WHAT* are the ideas or information acquired ?

and, finally, what *practical* knowledge or conclusions have you drawn from the subject ?

This habit of inquiry, reflection and conclusion, enables a person to select, digest, refine and *concentrate* information for *practical* and important purposes.

A man, who naturally had a good constitution, and fine talents, and was left young in the world with a handsome fortune—which he had spent in habits of dissipation and debauchery, and ruined his health ; was accosted by one of his old acquaintances, who was endeavouring to console him, in his miserable condition, by saying that he had many and good friends in the companions of his youth. “ No,” said the ruined man ; “ *they were my worst enemies* ; for if they had been my real *friends*, they would have caused a conservator to have been put over me, or otherwise have checked and prevented me from squandering my fortune, and ruining my health and talents—and particularly, instead of aiding and encouraging me in my ruinous course, as they did.”

There has lately been considerable squinting and squirming, about the small salaries for which the chief executive and judicial offices are filled, in the state of Rhode-Island ; and particularly when contrasted with the sums allowed for similar offices in the states of Louisiana and New-York. Those salaries may be too low ; but will any one pretend that *justice* is not as accessible, and as well executed, in the state of Rhode-Island, as in the two latter named states ? and even better than in England, or any other country where judges have larger salaries or higher rates of compensation than in any of our states ?

We should remember, that *justice* is not meted out with *gold* scales.

The simple truth is, when we go beyond a necessary and just rate of compensation for public services, the artifices of electioneering, and juggling tricks to obtain public office or employ, are naturally excited thereby ; and the higher we go above a medium rate of salaries and perquisites of office, the more learned quibbles, vexations and delays of justice, are generally indulged.

It is said that, in some parts of our country, certain *leading and driving* characters, some how manage to dictate and controul, directly and indirectly, the principal newspapers and other publications, that their subjects read ; and that the common people have no practical and efficient *protection* against such persecuting, vexatious and oppressive conduct and designs.

THE PEOPLE—freemen or electors, should *lead and rule*, in a republic—not *be led*, or *drove*, like cattle ! or voting machines !

People who are not satisfied with *themselves*, are generally inclined to be envious of the acquisitions, fame and enjoyment of *others*.

Some people, who have no minds or opinions of their own, or who are under a rigid church or state policy, have to go to their masters or leaders to know *what to think*, and particularly on matters of religion and politics.

There are two dangerous sets of *hypocrites* in our country, at the present day—one of whom aim to conceal their knavery and evil designs, under the cloak of piety, or a professed zeal for some *religious* creed, faith, or sectarian formalities ; and the other study to cover their crooked policy and conduct, under the buzz of some political name, or party distinction, or by the broad mantle of professed honor or *liberality*.

Hence, professed *piety*, is frequently a cloak for knavery ; and *liberality*, is often only another name for profligacy or the lack of principle.

Some editors and conductors of public journals, strive to lead and dictate—not to collect and follow, *public opinion*.

Unprincipled leaders, generally prefer men of *desperate* characters and fortunes, for under offices and agencies, as they may the more readily convert them into instruments for their own crooked policy and purposes.

Sympathy for rogues, expressed by looks, words or actions, generally betrays a weak head, or a corrupt policy and understanding. It may indeed be the result of extreme ignorance, or the person who manifests it may not know what they do ; but generally it is a warning that should be cautiously attended to.

Bigots, from ignorance and delusion, and knaves from policy and design, seem ever ready to palliate wrong actions, under some hypocritical or quibbling pretence.

A person was complaining of fraudulent transactions, when another said, "Lau ! you, *rogues must live*." Well, replied the former, we have provided, at considerable public expense, a place for their reception, affording them food, clothing, lodging and *work*, with *guards* for their protection, (state prison ;) and I wish all the *rogues* were confined there, and not running at large, robbing and plaguing honest people.

We naturally proclaim a *wolf*, without any ceremony or hesitation, whenever we see one at large, open and undisguised ; but when a wolf is discovered in *sheep's clothing*—which is infinitely more dangerous, people generally hesitate, and seldom do more than *whisper*, or give an insinuating *hint*, to their particular friends and confidants. This strange state of society is brought about by having *hypocrites in power*, who, in order to *screen themselves*, generally study to *entangle* liberty—to intimidate discernment, and finally to suppress a manly freedom of speech, and of action.

Minds, that have been bewildered and confused, by false precepts and hypocritical examples, like a tangled skein of silk, generally grow worse by hasty or injudicious efforts to untangle them.

Persons of variegated fortunes, and of changeable tempers or dispositions, resulting from natural or artificial causes, are generally much more capable of forming correct ideas on subjects involving general knowledge, than those of steady tempers, and even or uninterrupted fortunes. Every change of feeling, circumstance, or situation, gives a different *view* of the world and its va-

rious concerns. Health, and sickness ; poverty, and riches ; liberty, and slavery ; habitual indolence, and industry ; changes of residence, situation, or occupation, as well as a fluctuating temper of mind ; however they may render one in the world's estimation, nevertheless afford him, greatly the advantage over those of more stable tempers, uniform fortunes, and uninterrupted situations, in reasoning on general and extensive subjects.

The changes, hardships, and trials, which mankind are often subject to in life, if made a proper use of, tend to strengthen their virtue, and enlighten the understanding.

Adversity tests the minds of men, as use or accident rubs off the gloss and exposes the *substance* of which coin is made.

Extreme prosperity, or indulgence, have a natural tendency to excite unwarrantable expectations. Hence, those who have been greatly indulged, by fortune, weak parents, or the like, and those who are best off in worldly goods, are generally the least satisfied with their fortunes and situations.

A little adversity *tempers* life. It generally softens down the too arrogant and unreasonable propensities of heedless and inconsiderate beings.

Adversity teaches by *contrast*, and experiment, the worth of health, liberty, peace, and competence.

After a person has suffered the deprivation, or particular want of any of the essential privileges or enjoyments of life, for a season, on being restored to his privileges and enjoyments again, he then generally knows their value.

It is the height of wisdom, to know when we are well situated, and to estimate fairly, the blessings and privileges we possess.

That man, who possesses strength of reason, in unison with the impulse of his temper and the energies of his body, is most happily constituted.

It is absurd, if not infamous, to represent the CREATOR—who is perfect in knowledge, power and goodness, as having made man *different* from what He would have had him ; and especially as being *angry* with His own works, when anger is the acknowledged attribute of ignorance and folly. And, in His all-righteous and final judgment, to suppose that the Supreme and perfect Judge of all mankind, would exact *perfection*, of finite and fallible creatures, is a paltry fallacy ; and also, that God—being perfect in knowledge, truth and justice, should assign *infinite* punishment for a *temporary* offence.

Those who hold up such notions, whether from ignorance or design, should be cautiously avoided : for let me tell you, the Supreme Guardian of truth, justice, virtue and humanity, never sets knaves or blockheads to become guides in the land.

A priest was once endeavouring to instruct a man of his parish, or “ flock,” how to *die* happily—who was told by the man, that he should be much more obliged if the priest would enable him to *live* comfortably—and which he might easily do, by relinquishing a part of his enormous tithes, and arbitrary power.

One practical Christian, who proves his faith by his *good works*, is worth a thousand idle declaimers ; who often prove, by their actions, that *they don't believe what they say*.

The same may be applied, also, as a general rule, to judge of republicans, and of patriots.

The Friends or Quakers, have no pope, bishops, or settled salary clergymen to “ *rule over*” them. Every good man, and woman, among them, are moral and religious instructors, both by precept and example : and although they live in a country where lawyers have the chief power, they have but little to do with lawyers or litigation : and yet the whole world might be challenged for a people of equal good habits and moral worth.

The editor or conductor of a newspaper or public journal, should never admit any thing into his columns, that is calculated

to deceive or injure his numerous subscribing and reading customers ; and if any thing of the kind inadvertently obtains an insertion, he should immediately on ascertaining its character and probable designs, endeavour to explain and defeat its object. It is entirely a mistake, to suppose that an editor or publisher is unaccountable for his *advertising* matter. I here would recommend some to read the lottery brokers, nostrum venders, political jugglers, and other treacherous and base matter, which they deal out to the public, through their printed columns, and then see, in fact, if they are not playing the game of *aristocracy*—serving the *few*, to the injury of the many !

A waste of our thoughts, is almost as pernicious and unwise, as to squander time, or money. Allowing our imaginations, thoughts or reasoning faculties to dwell upon frivolous, useless or mischievous subjects, without any beneficial object in view, is a heedless waste, to say the least of it.

As a sample of the *inequality* and *injustice* of the British government, Manchester—without incorporated or city privileges, with 165,000 inhabitants, chiefly mechanics and manufacturers, is without representation in parliament. Birmingham, and other large manufacturing towns, are similarly situated.

The British historian, soberly represents these as “ADVANTAGES”—“*freedom* from election canvassing.” Yes, the same *freedom* and *advantages* the African slaves might boast of, over a people who have to read, inquire, reflect, reason and choose for themselves.

The manufacturers, and seamen, of Great-Britain—who are in fact their chief *supporters* and *defenders*, have been *taught*—encouraged and habituated to the most intemperate, improvident and heedless course of life and conduct, to keep them ignorant, corrupt, needy and *dependent*, in order to facilitate their absolute subjection and control.

Every thing, in fine, that increases the general depravity, ignor-

ance and want of the British laboring classes, has a tendency to bring them more and more under the control of absolute power.

When the laboring manufacturers are obliged to work for little or nothing beyond a bare subsistence, it enables the master manufacturers to throw their productions into foreign markets at such low rates, as to injure, and often to destroy the manufacturing establishments of those countries. And then the proud capitalists and managers make money, by a monopoly of the foreign market ; while those who perform the labor, are still left poor and dependent.

True CHRISTIANITY, like genuine republicanism, studies the greatest possible good of the *whole* of mankind ; and SECTARIANISM, like king-craft, seeks the benefit of the *few*, at the expense and injury of the many.

Literary-craft—in order to render learning unnecessarily difficult and expensive, would oblige us to have *two* sets of letters for the use of one word—one to spell, and the other to pronounce by !

Priest-craft, would render religion, a deep, intricate and complicated SCIENCE, known only to the *few*, who could interpret it to the many, as best suited their own interests and designs !

Law-craft, would render the laws, (a knowledge of which we all require for our constant guide, and protection,) a deep and intricate SCIENCE, known only to a *few* professional characters ; who can generally interpret and use them to suit their own particular interests and policy !

Probably the only reason why priests have indulged, or rather have been successful in so many frauds, persecutions and oppressions on mankind, is because their policy and conduct has not been promptly met, and freely, publicly and seasonably investigated, like other public concerns.

The same reason, applies also, to lawyers, doctors, and men of other public or *learned* professions, as they are called.

The pruning-hook is most needed, where the growth is natural-

ly the most luxuriant. The pruning-hook of criticism and correction, must be constantly and faithfully applied, or obnoxious weeds and unhealthy shoots and branches will spring up, burden and exhaust the soil—overshadow, and finally choke and destroy the true scions and articles of usefulness and good husbandry.

There is not any thing that concerns the people of this country generally, more dearly than our political and religious rights and liberties ; and constant vigilance and inspection are necessary to preserve them from the crooks and intrigues of hypocritical and designing *crafts* : how absurd, then, is it for the editors or conductors of newspapers and other public prints, to *pledge* themselves, as some do in their prospectuses, not to meddle with *religion* or *politics*.

There is always a fair presumption, of those who wish to intimidate, cramp or destroy the general freedom of speech, or of the press, that their policy and conduct will not bear the light of truth and public inspection.

A person in the city of Mexico, remarked how very *imposing* the Roman Catholic Church *ceremonies* were. Yes, replied a Mexican republican, very *imposing*, to be sure, for they have been the chief means employed to IMPOSE ignorance, corruption and oppression, on many millions of the people of the old and new world, for ages past.

MONARCHY is of savage origin ; and carries with it the barbarous injustice and cruelty of outraged reason and humanity : wherein the *chief*—one individual, claims an absolute sovereignty over millions of fellow-beings, and keeps them in subordination to his will and control, by the hypocritical arts and efforts of *bigotry* and *superstition* ; with the constant application of the *force of arms*.

Monarchy enjoins a kind of IDOLATRY on its subjects, wherein the *creature*—that phantom of human worth and greatness, com-

monly called a monarch or sovereign chief, often assumes to himself the homage, which is due only to the CREATOR.

A monarch is therefore an *idol*—an *artificial* character—a CHEAT—one set forth to be superior to the common order of beings—infallible in his judgment, and above all human accountability and controul—while in fact he is nothing but a man ; generally possessed of the sovereign controul of a state or empire, by *chance*, and supported by the power of *force* and *fraud*, with the co-operation of a few interested participators, and expectants of *extra* gains, privileges and indulgences.

A monarch is usually decorated and puffed up with an excessive degree of vanity and deceitfulness ; and, who in point of intellectual capacity and moral worth, is often below men in general—sometimes worse than a brute in ferocity and lack of fellow-feelings.

A sovereign chief, with a large military force on hand, is like an overgrown bully, inclined to swagger and be insolent to his weaker neighbours and fellow-men, that he may provoke them to give him some pretext for battle, wherein he can display his *power*, and perhaps get something by *plunder*.

The progress of human improvement, and especially that which is made in the science and practice of government, having rendered kings, emperors, or sovereign princes and their creatures, with their silly and hypocritical shows, pomp and pretensions, worse than a useless appendage of public authority, which the people wish to get rid of, as soon and as effectually as possible ; they therefore seem resolved, while in the exercise of their sovereign power, to do their utmost to embarrass the progress of truth and reason, and, if possible to finally extinguish the main light of civilization !

We often hear the *bawlings* of mobs and other public assemblages, in some of the European countries, particularly France, and Spain—such, for example, as “ *Live the Bourbons* ”—“ *Success to absolute monarchy*,” and the like, given out as expressive

of the feelings and opinions of a party, or the public body ; but nothing is more hypocritical and absurd, than so to regard the *yelpings* of a few idlers, who haunt courts and public assemblages, and who are generally *hired* to give the *pitch* or *key-note* for the mob to bawl out from ; more especially in countries where the common freedom of opinion and expression are notoriously PROHIBITED.

The sentiments and opinions of a virtuous, enlightened and free people, are to be ascertained, from very different manifestations.

A stout heavy fisted painter, on exhibiting a piece of his work for public criticism and inspection, gave out word that he would *knock down* the first person who found a word of *fault* with his piece !

This is the liberty of monarchy : You may puff and flatter those in power as much as you please—but woe be to the man who dares openly and candidly point out the real *faults* of their policy and conduct !

People who have had their understandings bewildered and prejudiced, by the bigotry, superstitious and other hypocritical arts and efforts of designing knaves, often act more absurdly than common brutes. They sometimes put one in mind of a cross or vicious horse, *mule*, or other brute animal, which will kick, bite, or do one some injury, when he goes to feed them, or do them an act of kindness. So if we attempt to *reason* with the slaves of bigotry and despotism, for their own actual and best good, it is almost an even chance that they become informers and instruments in the hands of oppressive and designing knaves, for the persecution and destruction of their actual and best friends.

An example upon a large scale, may be found in the late transactions in SPAIN, and some other countries, where a considerable part of the people were brought to *war with themselves*—to counteract their own actual and best good ; and finally to banish or destroy their best friends. They mostly seemed insensible of the fact—the hypocritical and corrupt arts and efforts of *school-craft*,

priest-craft, law-craft, literary-craft, war-craft, and KING-CRAFT, have PLAYED THE DEVIL with their understandings.

Even many of their more enlightened and liberal-minded, were acting a very absurd and blind part, as appeared to us ; for while the Spanish Cortes were professedly contending for a degree of light and liberty, at home, and making their greatest efforts to sustain their position, they were, at the same time, exhausting their feeble strength and resources, in carrying on a cruel and fruitless warfare, with their American brethren, (more numerous taken all together than themselves,) to *force* them to relinquish *their own liberty and Independence*, and submit to FOREIGN CONTROL !

After the late general peace in Europe, in conversation with some of the most knowing and interested monarchists of France, on the best plan for subduing the spirit of liberty that many still cherished, even in that devoted country, a leading *tailor* of Paris remarked, that, such was the influence and effects of *dress and fashion*, on the bodies, minds and fortunes of mankind, that he could do more with even his *shears and needle*, to bring them quietly under submission to monarchy, than the most able military commander of the empire, with all his veteran legions ; for art and management may fashion and finally *lead* mankind, where arms could not *force* them.

If monarchists, or those who hold the rights and liberties of their fellow men in *contempt*, were only retaliated upon by the people they rob and oppress, they would shrink into insignificance, for they could not withstand the *united* force of one twentieth part of their victims who have one common interest. But the difficulty of enlightening the common subjects of monarchy, in regard to their rights, abilities, and best good, and of uniting their efforts in establishing the same, is the great evil to overcome.

According to the rules and policy practised by the old world towards their once infant, and distant colonies—after they became able to *take care of themselves*, and desirous of so doing ; if parents were to treat their children in like manner, every son, after

coming to the age and strength of manhood, would have to *fight* out his liberty and independence !

If the world was completely *civilized*, every considerable island, or distant and distinct colony, might subsist as an independent state, or community ; and only be bound to support such rules and regulations as were necessary for the general peace, security and happiness of mankind. Pretty much the same as it now is between different families and individuals in well regulated society—the few, or the weak, would not be in serious danger of outrage or violence from the many, or the stronger, and especially without remedy. There would be a natural and mutual bond of interest and fellow-feeling, throughout the whole human race, in support of civilized rights ; and any serious aggression thereon would call forth the united interest, attention and energy of the law, necessary for a prompt and efficient suppression and punishment of the outrage.

Travelling, in different countries, and places, under judicious views, and circumstances ; and reading the journals of candid, able and well directed travellers, has a tendency to refine, enrich and enlarge the human mind and understanding, and to eradicate or correct many erroneous, contracted and local prejudices. But travellers and journalists, too generally confine their views and attentions, to some privileged policy, professional interest, or bigoted notion. So that they generally give us partial views, and erroneous, or useless accounts, of countries and people, and neglect that information which most interests and concerns us generally, as a free people. We want to know something about *the people* of other countries—how they differ from ourselves, in their knowledge, habits, and general condition, and particularly in regard to the possession and enjoyment of their essential rights and privileges.

Giving, to beggars and others who ask alms of us, something, merely to *get rid of them*, without first inquiring into their character and ascertaining their real circumstances and situation, gen-

erally tends to *encourage* vagrancy and public imposture, and to *increase* the public annoyance and burdens; for mankind generally won't work, when they can obtain, even a miserable subsistence, by begging.

Want begets want, and misery begets misery. Indolence and poverty lose their disgrace and terrors, by general sympathy and increase of numbers.

Mankind will naturally cease to exert themselves in making provision for their own future wants and accommodation, *in proportion as they see others making those provisions for them.*

Unprincipled and designing priests and lawyers, both contrive, by a variety of hypocritical arts and operations, to keep mankind by the *ears* as much as possible, in order to exercise their controuling powers and influence *over them*. Thus, in some places they rule *together—between them*; in other countries they ride and rule *separately*, or as circumstances favour their designs.

Each profession have been known, in some places—even in this country, to have their special advocates, and their separate candidates for office. Thus—this is the *lawyer's* paper—that is the *priest's* paper; this is the *lawyer's* candidate for governor, &c. and that is the *priest's* man, &c. The *people* could scarcely be said to have either paper, or candidate. Under such circumstances, it seemed to be considered their business, humbly to submit to the dictation and controul of *lawyers* and *priests*, and their special candidates.

A people who are so *priest-ridden*, or *lawyer-ridden*, are to be pitied, if too ignorant to see through its hypocrisy and degradation; but they ought to be despised and shunned, if they neglect to maintain their rights and self-respect, from the lack of courage and manliness, or from inattention to their dearest concerns.

Some of our *airy* republicans, in their haste to climb to the top of the *pole* of their political ambition, have gone round and round, in order to find some place of more easy or rapid ascension, until they have completely boxed the political compass.

The "*era of good feelings*," which has been operating on the government and people of this country, for several years past, has brought us into a state of political *lethargy* ; which, unless we are soon aroused from, to a proper sense of our situation, and *duty*, will sink our boasted national virtue, intelligence, and liberty, to the scorn and derision of the world.

" *Call you these Republicans ?*" said a proved republican of '98 in remarking upon the late conduct of men, who had been promoted to office, in consequence of their express will and determination to correct abuses of power and promote the people's best good ; but who, after they found themselves comfortably clothed with public authority, began to quibble and equivocate, from time to time, about the *manner* of proceeding to effect the reforms, and finally found great *difficulties* in the way of every proposition !

In speaking of a man's character and qualifications to entitle them to public confidence and esteem, it is sometimes noticed how vastly *clever* and *agreeable* they seem to be : But this is often artificial and deceptive—a gloss put on for the moment, and which will not wear. Indeed, the *devil* is said to assume the most *agreeable* and *enchancing* appearances, imaginable, for the moment when it suits his purposes ; but then, it is soon over, when he is the devil again, with all his infernal ugliness, treachery and cruelty.

The exercise of every useful trade, profession or calling, should be free to every one ; and all should be liable for the injury they occasion others, from the lack of adequate skill, or attention—as well as for a studied violation of their proper duty.

Such a regulation might make lawyers, judges, and other licensed and official characters, a little more careful of how they play the devil with the rights and concerns of their employers.

Men, from ignorance, and through a treacherous policy and design, both, often recommend to let public evils *regulate themselves*—Just as if human wisdom, foresight, vigilance and attention, in

discerning, removing, and guarding against public evils, were inexpedient.

Fire, pestilence, and other public and private calamities, if no wise precautions are seasonably provided and applied, will come, and most assuredly *regulate themselves*—and cease, only after there is nothing undestroyed within their reach for them to prey upon !

Some, from ignorance, and others from design, have endeavored to render a prompt execution of the laws, *odious*, when they operate against their particular interest, feelings, policy or designs. But if the laws are imperfect, or unjust, alter, or repeal them. Certainly, never leave it optional with any one to *suspend* the laws whenever it suits *their* particular interest—lest offenders should contrive to *fee* executive officers to procure their forbearance, or directly, or indirectly, give the amount of part of their spoil, or ill-gotten wealth, to enable them to escape with the rest, or somehow to facilitate their final evasion of justice ; and thus *encourage* offences against the security and common good of society !

We have lately seen, public officers, (who were probably under an *oath* to execute the laws against offenders, faithfully, and without delay or favor,) not only neglect their duty, (generally under some false or quibbling pretensions,) but actually refuse to enforce the laws, against some of the most notorious and infamous offenders. For instance, for the punishment and suppression of the late infamous, alarming and ruinous *bank swindling*, and other *conspiracies* to defraud stock-holders, and others ; for dealing in foreign lottery tickets, against positive and express law—with the fraudulent management of lotteries, and the ruinous gambling of late going on therein ; for the effectual punishment and prevention of the late extensive conspiracies to evade our general custom-house duties, and to defraud the public revenue : And also the mob-like, and other daring conspiracies to ensnare, intimidate and put down the actual freedom of the press ; with other wilful neglects, to provide and apply means for the effectual punishment and suppression of other ruinous offences.

We must no longer set the wolves to guard the sheep, lest they somehow contrive to fatten upon the spoil thereof!

Indolence and vice, should never be entrusted to foster and guard industry and virtue.

About sixteen hundred convicts were said to have been *pardon-ed* from the State prisons of New-York, within a certain period of a less number of days! They were probably tried and all the *court* expences secured, that could well be created for the benefit of lawyers and others concerned in the *profits* of law proceedings: and then, after a little time and instruction in those famous *schools* of infamy and corruption, they were let loose upon the unguarded public! to try their luck again! to practise their newly acquired arts, or improved skill in criminal and other base offences!

An Irishman was convicted of a criminal offence in one of the southern states, who said it was his misfortune to be poor—that if he had possessed a good sum of money, he might no doubt have procured ABSOLUTION, through the aid and instrumentality of *lawyers*, as readily as he had formerly obtained the same by priests, in the Spanish dominions.

It is pretty clear that priests are not the only profession of men in the world, who are interested in screening criminal and other offenders from merited conviction and punishment, for a portion of their spoil or ill-gotten wealth.

Justice satisfies every reasonable expectation, and strikes a terror on fraud.

Error becomes dangerous, in proportion as the source from which it emanates, is elevated.

It would be contrary to reason and the nature of things, to expect that *indolence* and *hypocrisy* would ever truly serve the cause of *industry*, *virtue* and *merit*; and, certainly, to entrust the for-

mer with the guardianship of the latter, would be the extreme of human absurdity and weakness.

Those whom we employ to make and administer law, should never be interested or left any way to enrich or aggrandize themselves, families or friends, by promoting the ignorance, depravity and misery, of the common people.

We profess to despise those of the old world, who, from ignorance and the lack of fellow-feeling, bear arms, and otherways become instruments for keeping their fellow-men in subordination to kings, priesthoods and other corrupt and arbitrary authorities ; but how ought we to consider printers, and others of our own country, who prostitute their services and the noble art of printing, to impose on the many for the benefit of the few !

In a country where the *priests* are in power, (as in the pope's dominions,) they might boast of being the profession that produced the most great men ; and in an empire where the *military* bear the chief sway, (as was the case in Bonaparte's dominions,) they might boast that the military profession produced the great men ; and in a state, or nation, where the *lawyers* have the chief controul, they, too, might boast that the profession of *law* produced the most great men. Something of the latter kind of boasting has actually taken place, in regard to the Suffolk "*bar*," in some of the late Boston papers. But what does this actually prove, more than, that, when one profession get at the *head* of government or power, in any state, or nation, they can *draw up* after them, those of their own profession and policy, in preference to all others !

Instead of encouraging and protecting the useful labours of the mind—aiding ingenious and enterprising men to unite and apply their talents, capital, and industry, in the best manner, in promoting useful objects and undertakings, how much more would it benefit lawyers, to have them misapplied, or set by the

ears, and exhaust their energies in lawsuits, and other vexatious and unprofitable contests ?

The cupidity and hypocrisy of influential and leading characters, has often *perverted* the public charities, by applying that which was designed for the prevention and relief of human want and misery, to the **EMBELLISHMENT** of some particular place, and to the *elevation, enrichment or convenience*, of individuals, as officers and managers of such funds, or institutions.

Two of the chief causes of human transgression, misery, and want, particularly in large cities and overcrowded settlements, has generally been the lack of *a safe and accumulating deposit* for the surplus earnings and accumulations, of unsettled, single, defenceless and inexperienced persons, and the want of candid and *friendly advice*, and, particularly in cases of trouble and embarrassment.

Seafaring people, single women, apprentices, journeymen, servants, laborers and strangers, are generally the most exposed to the tricks and treachery of unprincipled and designing sharpers, in such cases ; and therefore are the most in need of such advice and protection.

Every measure that shall encourage and enable the most defenceless, dependant, and inexperienced class of people in society, to promote their honest industry and self-dependence, has a direct, and often powerful tendency to check the main sources of pauperism, crimes, and human misery and degradation ; for those who are rescued from hazardous and despairing conditions, will not only be saved thereby ; but crimes and depravity will ultimately decrease, both from the diminution of candidates, and objects for them to prey upon.

In the early stages of human society, before mankind were much enlightened by experience, history, or the progress of human science, they adapted their rules and policies of govern-

ment, to the extreme *ignorance* or lack of knowledge among the people.

Some people, from ignorance or design, have substituted *cunning* for wisdom, when in fact there is a total and wide difference between the proper meaning of the two words.—

Cunning, is of a low, frivolous or mischievous character—such as is often manifested in the peculiar conduct of buffoons, jugglers, gamblers, pickpockets, pimps, swindlers, hypocrites and cheats in general ; while wisdom, is exalted, just and reasonable, distinguishing the truly good and great.

Among the absurd and hypocritical maxims, propagated by designing lawyers and others interested in the increase of crimes, trials, and the general *profits* of law proceedings, is, that a person is *presumed* to be innocent, until proved guilty—although the very fact of a serious charge, or arrest for examination or trial, is at least a fair presumption, that he is *believed to be guilty*.

Our aristocrats—some of whom *love* the people, almost as ardently as the kings of the old world love their subjects ; are pursuing their game, by different routes, and under hypocritical pretensions. In one case, they study to impose rigid and unreasonable restrictions against the popular will ; and in another, they oppose the restraint of ruinous public indulgences—Among which are unbounded excitements and indulgences in lottery, and other gambling, keeping tipling houses, &c. &c.

The business of litigation, is carried on and increasing to an alarming extent, of late, from the practice of *banishing* convicts from one neighboring state, or nation, to another—and by the custom of *pardoning* and turning loose upon our neighbors and fellow beings, criminal and other offenders—after having caught, and tried them, and carefully secured all the *profits* of law proceedings, and given them a degree of fresh instruction, from the prompters and schools of villainy ; so that offenders continue their depredations upon human society, and with increased skill and ca-

gerness, to the augmentation of lawyers' business and gains ; and finally to the promotion of the depravity and downfall of a virtuous and free people.

The following is taken from a piece, in the New-York Statesman, of August 20th, 1827, (quoted from the Mercantile Advertiser,) signed A JUROR.

" *Old Convicts.*—It is worthy of remark that almost every other case, which is tried in the Court of Session, is that of old offenders. After long experience, it is evident, that our lenient system has been unfairly tried. The excessive lenity of Judges, has greatly increased the number of offenders. That portion of our population who live by plunder, calculate with certainty upon this lenity and become more daring.—Another great cause is the abuse of the pardoning power. No sooner is a thief convicted, than an attempt is made to obtain a pardon.—A stop must be put to this in some way or other ; jurors and judges must exercise more firmness—they must resist application on the subject. The necessity of pardoning on account of the crowded state of the State Prison, no longer exists ; and no man ought to be pardoned but in cases where it is really and truly required.

The improper use of the pardoning power has become a subject of general complaint, and we hope the legislature will consider this cause of crime at their next session.

By examination of the records of the Court, it will be seen, that men are daily tried for the second, frequently for the third, and there are cases where parties have been convicted for the fourth and fifth time, to say nothing of the number of trials they may have had where they have been tried and acquitted by absence of witnesses or other accidental circumstances."

A man of large property, and of active and prudent habits, was accused of being *miserly*. No, said he, I am not miserly, for I enjoy all the comforts and conveniences of life that I could reasonably desire, or possess. My surplus wealth, I intend for the best good of my fellow beings. Not to pamper indolence, profligacy and folly ; nor to nurse and encourage pauperism :—but to

be finally applied, in the best manner, for encouraging virtue, useful knowledge, industry, and the promotion of human improvement in general.

More than one half of the labor and exertions of mankind, are lost for want of knowing how to make the best application and use of our time and talents ;—and chiefly from the lack of seasonable and proper instruction therein.

Those who are the *least able*, generally *pay most* for what they have ; and chiefly from their lack of seasonable and proper instruction, forethought, and habit or application.

The following is so good a picture of a *lazy* and heedless person, that I have resolved to record it.

A traveller, overtaken by a sudden shower of rain, sought shelter in a nigh building, which he found inhabited by a stupid, lazy man, with a family of several ragged children, all collected together in one room—under the only part of the roof that was ever shingled or finished covering—although the house had apparently been in that condition for several years. The traveller, astonished at such improvident neglect, asked the man *why* he did not finish covering his house ? who answered and said, “ *It rains now, and I can't ; and in fair weather, it does well enough without !* ”

There are many, in our own day, and country, who pay a ridiculous kind of homage, to articles of property derived from their ancestors or friends, that varies but little if any from idolatry.—Such, for instance, as keeping valuable property useless, to remember ancestors or friends, *by*. I will briefly name a case in point.

A lady had, by descent from her ancestors, several hundred ounces of old fashioned silver plate—which was not only useless, but cost her a great deal of trouble and anxiety to take care of and guard it from being stolen.

On learning the circumstance, a friend made an estimate of what the actual use of the silver would have been worth, for the

time it had been worse than useless to its possessor, as money at interest, or otherwise judiciously invested in good property—and found that it would have more than *trebled* the whole amount or value! and might, at the same time have *increased* her gratitude and esteem for her said ancestors.

So much was foolishly sacrificed to the idolatrous custom of keeping valuable property *useless*, merely out of gratitude, or respect for the donors.

In overhauling the property and concerns of a merchant or trader, it was ascertained that he had sacrificed upwards of SIXTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS, in about twenty years, simply by his practice of putting out of the way, goods, after they became unfashionable or unsaleable, where they were constantly growing worse, by time, and injuries occasioned by moths, rust, &c. Besides occupying room that might otherways have been useful. Instead of selling off the articles for what they would have fetched at private or public sale, at the various times they were put away, or lay as useless lumber in the store, and the amount of what they would have fetched, put at interest, or judiciously employed, or invested in good property.

So much was sacrificed from a stupid or heedless practice of letting valuable property lie useless, or go to ruin by decay, for the want of a little thoughtful attention. This only shows what may be found in various other branches of our concerns, from the lack of a little forethought, calculation and attention. An *overhauling* of our useless property, and a *review* of our concerns, in general, once in a while, is very important.

The order and management of *bees*, is held out by designing advocates of monarchy, as an indication of *Divine Providence*, in favour of a system of government, where *one* is fixed far above all the rest. But the king or queen bee, as they call it, is only the *mother* of a family; and every new swarm or emigration from the parent hive, has a mother.

While the instructive justice and wisdom, taught by the example of these industrious little insects, in casting off their *drones*,

(instead of pampering and almost worshipping them, as the slaves of monarchy and aristocracy do their drones,) seems to have been left in silence to speak for itself.

Such ill tempered, and unappropriate learning for the common people, as was designed for the support of kings and privileged orders of men, doubtless the great poet meant, where he says, "A *little* learning is a dangerous thing." And because it generally tends to *enslave* mankind.

When I hear people of the slave states, threaten a *dissolution* of the federal union, it puts me in mind of a married woman, who, from a design to torment her good and indulgent husband, or from her insanity of mind, frequently threatened *to make way with herself*; and who, in one of those strange moments, ran out to a man who was chopping wood nigh the house, and asked him *to cut her head off*. The man, good naturedly told her, to lay her head on the log he was chopping, and he would cut it off at a blow. As she laid her head on the log, he raised his ax, as if to give the fatal blow, but, designedly struck the log a distance from her with the head of his axe—when she sprang up and ran off screaming *murder! murder!* she said the man was going to *kill her!*

Notifying delinquent subscribers to newspapers and like publications, that the same will be continued to them *until all arrearages are paid*—as a *threat* or sort of *punishment* for their dishonesty—without knowing whether they are able, or ever intend *to pay*, is about equal to informing them, that, if they *won't pay*, they shall continue to receive the same *for nothing*, UNTIL THEY ARE TIRED OF IT!

Something like the notice given the Irishman, who was told, by a washer-woman, who espied him retreating from her clothes yard with a stolen shirt, that he would pay for it *at the day of judgment*." "Faith, madam," replied the Irishman, "if you will wait so long, I'll e'ens *take another!*"

A college learned man, in a written controversy with a mechanic, briefly concluded his arguments with a line or two of *latin*; to which the mechanic replied, giving the apparent *pith* of his argument in crooked words, that really had no standard meaning. After the *classical* gentleman had puzzled his head, in vain, to find out their meaning, he wrote for an explanation; to which the mechanic replied, that he would deal more honourably, than he had been dealt by; and that the words which had so puzzled his classical and learned antagonist, really meant that,

A hypocrite, vanquished in his own play, is twice beat!

It is contended, by some, that a knowledge of the dead languages is necessary, to enable a complete comprehension and understanding of the living tongue—by getting at the roots—the etymology or derivation of words. But if our dictionaries properly explain the true *meaning* and application of words in use, it will obviate the necessity of our all turning etymologists, or learning two or more languages in order to understand one.

The knaves and little tyrants of this country, are as much opposed to an actual *free press*, and to *human improvement* in general, as the knaves and overgrown tyrants of the old world. They have actually managed to exercise a kind of SECRET CENSORSHIP over the press, in many, if not in most parts of our country, so as to have rendered it difficult and hazardous to print and circulate, any matter particularly criticising on *their policy and conduct*. In proportion to their power and influence, they are *secretly* or openly as hostile to human improvement, as the league of tyrants of the old world; and have already *played the devil* with some of our most important improvements, and their authors and promoters.

But why should not knaves and tyrants dread the progress of truth and justice, about them, as much in one country, as another? Their trades are essentially the same, and darkness and terror are their shield and protection. And, certainly, every thing that has a tendency to improve the knowledge and understanding of the common people, and to increase their independence, peace, security, prosperity and happiness, must be against

the policy and designs of knaves and tyrants generally, both little and big, wherever they may be.

A knave or tyrant, however small, is nevertheless opposed to truth and justice, and inclined to baffle or crush their progress and existence, in proportion to his means, as though he had unlimited power ; and the more he is indulged, the stronger and more daring becomes his outrages and evil designs.

Like the unprincipled inquisitors and despots of the old world, ours, also, have *spies, tale-bearers, false-witnesses, and undertakers*, to carry on their work and designs. Sometimes they undertake to LIE DOWN their intended victims.

Our unprincipled litigious inquisitors, like the *holy* inquisitors of the old world, make great use of *bankrupts*, the personal *enemies* of their intended victims, and people of *desperate* fortunes and characters, to aid their frauds, oppressions and cruelties.

It was quite *fashionable*, at one time, for certain characters to *insult* our common people, by styling them *clod-hoppers*, the *swinish multitude*, and the like. The fashion, has, however, most wonderfully and fearfully changed ; and men of the same character and designs, now *flatter* the common people.

There is generally much more danger to be apprehended from the *smiles* and *flatteries* of an enemy, than from their open insolence and avowed hostility.

Our colleges, have generally been schools of *privileged orders*—nurseries of aristocratic pride, habits, ideas, policy and interests.

An old revolutionary officer, on hearing some slight remarks made upon the dress and appearance, of the men at a country muster or training, compared with those of the city, said—" Give me *one* thousand of those plain dressed, athletic and brave "country lads," and I will conquer *five* thousand of your "city dandies,"

in the ordinary course of the war-fare of our country. Three frosty nights would kill an army of your fair-weather soldiers—your silk-stocking gentry. It was pretty much such looking men as some of you now pretend to despise, who mainly achieved our national liberty and independence ; and who have chiefly sustained us ever since, by their industry, virtue and firmness.

“ I will hold that man *infamous*, who shall attempt to trifle with the virtuous and firm supporters and defenders of this blessed land of liberty. But, let me tell you, most of these industrious and plain dressed country people, have as little esteem and respect for many of your city folks—with their frivolous show of dress, *monkey airs*, and empty, hypocritical characters, as any of you pretend to entertain for them.” The country can live without the city ; but what could the city do without the country ! Thank God, our rights and prospects are based on something of more permanent and intrinsic worth, than the *quick-sands* of a numerous and corrupt city population.

We should endeavor to do away, as much as possible, every unnecessary grant and exercise of discretionary or *indefinite* authority, as it has a powerful tendency to nurse and indulge a spirit of aristocracy and despotism.

Emperors, kings, military commanders in chief, governors of states and provinces, mayors of cities, and judges of courts, are in the habit of issuing their *decrees*, and of promulgating their special authorities, by *proclamations* ; by which each one exercises different degrees of sovereignty, and probably feels a proportionate contempt for those he conceives below him. Even the assessors of taxes, in some places, invested with a degree of discretionary or indefinite authority, have indulged an unjust and shameful partiality towards individuals. Every *excessive* power or indulgence of authority, has a direct and powerful tendency to destroy that sense of equality, and confidence in public authorities, which are essential to our existence and prosperity, as a free people.

The issuing of *proclamations*, by chief executive authorities, offering special rewards for the discovery and arrest of capital offenders, has a tendency to delay common justice, in some instances, and finally, to produce unjust and odious distinctions and par-

tialities among mankind. The pursuit of offenders should never be delayed a moment for the proclamation of authority, or the offer of a suitable reward.

Neither should there ever be a partial value set upon human lives, by public authority. The perpetration of a murder or capital outrage upon a wealthy or influential person or family, (a class of people the most able to take care of themselves,) is much more likely to call forth the sympathy and special aid of a chief magistrate, than if committed upon a poor and defenceless class of people, who most need the humanity and special protection of government.

While the people professedly exercise political sovereignty over a state or country, they should never attempt to evade an indirect responsibility for the conduct of their agents; and surely they can never exonerate themselves, for the *continued* misconduct of those whom they have the exclusive power of appointing, restricting and controlling.

What must be the character, and ultimate condition, of a country, or people, where a man has more to fear from doing good, than evil—perhaps more injury to apprehend to his person, reputation, or fortune, from acting the useful and noble part of a patriot or public benefactor, than from playing the knave, the tyrant, or public despoiler? more actual harm to dread from detecting and exposing a defaulter, knave, or swindler, than from outraging virtue, robbing merit, or defaming human excellence?

Can there well be more base, hypocritical and unmanly transactions, of a country or people—AFTER HAVING OUTLAWED an individual of extraordinary virtue, genius, and public worth—perhaps compelled him, by their *envy*, rapacity, excessive stupidity, meanness, or cruelty, to abandon his nativity, or home, and seek protection and encouragement of strangers, in a foreign country, where his merits had been duly acknowledged and rewarded, and he ultimately pronounced a *public benefactor*—than for them, then, after

this, to attempt to *compliment themselves*, with a kindred birth place or habitation ?

The fact is, the strangers who treated the man of worth with becoming justice and liberality, are entitled to honor, in such case, and those who outraged the good man, should be stamped with due and proportionate infamy and disgrace. A virtuous and enlightened public, would naturally honor and reward a prophet, or public benefactor, in his own day, and country.

People act very absurdly, when, after one error, they commit numerous others to conceal the first. This is truly making bad worse. Like inventing and deliberately employing a *dozen* falsehoods, to patch up and conceal one hasty or inconsiderate misrepresentation, or other single fault.

Subscribing for the publication of books, or prints, or agreeing to take them at a given price, before we know their actual contents, materials, execution and merits or final worth, is something like the boys' method of trading knives, &c. "*unsight—unseen!*"

If a book, or print, has intrinsic merit enough to recommend and sell *itself*, there seldom is an occasion for teasing the public with subscription papers, or in *retailing* the article beforehand, by *proxy*.

If the actual amount of expenses for soliciting and obtaining single subscriptions, and delivering and getting the pay, was fairly deducted from the true value of meritorious and useful books, and prints, there would be enough dealers to take at wholesale, all that the demand would fairly justify.

The speeches of individuals, delivered in our national and state legislatures, often include the joint labors of *many* ; who, from party motives, or some local, or other particular interest or object, join and assist one of their *squad*, or number, to make notes, collect and prepare matter for *a speech*.

Thus, speeches delivered, and particularly those published, often bear a very erroneous idea of the real knowledge and abilities of the person to whose credit they are actually set down.

This is generally calculated to set off the individuals, whose names they go in, far above their real merits ; and no doubt has a powerful tendency to the rage for *speech-making* : And which is becoming ridiculous, if not dangerous, to many of our dearest interests and public concerns ; for when a member has *conceived* and become *pregnant* with matter for a big speech, he is generally useless for other business, until he has got rid of it to his mind, and frequently manifests as much uneasiness and anxiety for delivery, as a cat in the last stages of travail !

The Grecians, and Romans, before the art of printing came into use, through which to instruct and enlighten the public, by the circulation of printed matter, were under the necessity of much declamation or public speaking.

Deception in Courtship introductory to Matrimony.

THERE is no deception, perhaps, productive of more pernicious consequences to society, than that which is frequently practised in courtship introductory to matrimony : for while the woman is employing art to disguise her person, or character, and *deceive* her suitor in matters or things that concern his future enjoyment, she very little thinks that she is sowing the seeds of future jealousy—the bane of conjugal happiness ; nor does the man consider, when he is making false vows, and vain pretensions, to *deceive* the object of his embraces in that which regards the happiness of a married life, that he is poisoning his own cup, and laying the foundation for future misery.

In short ; all deception, practised by either party during courtship, introductory to matrimony, tends to destroy that *mutual confidence*, so essential to conjugal happiness ; and generally terminates in jealousy, strife, debauchery, and all manner of evil consequences.

To jockey or cheat in the deal of *brute* animals, is base and fraudulent, and the laws provide a penalty for the offence ; but how much more base and infamous ought it to be considered, to

jockey and cheat in the solemn contract of *matrimony*—made before Heaven, between two *human* beings, concerning their happiness and misery, in the highest degree !

Wonderful Contrast in the Female Character.

THERE is no being on earth, more pleasing as a companion, and seldom any more useful as a member of civil society, than *woman*—when nature and art have contributed to render her the most excellent of her sex. The natural beauty and gracefulness of her person ; the sweetness and vivacity of her temper, especially when aided by a judicious education, make her truly, the fairest part of creation. On the contrary, when nature has not been bountiful, but more especially when education and *reason* has been neglected, woman often becomes the most vile and disgusting monster in society—alike regardless of justice, cleanliness, humanity, or shame for her sex.

The passions of women, are generally quicker, and warmer, than those of men ; consequently they are, as nature or education may have particularly inclined them, often the most faithful patrons of virtue and humanity, or the vilest instruments of vice and depravity. Satan, certainly betrayed no ordinary knowledge of the human character, when he selected his instrument for the original seduction of mankind.

JEALOUSY, originates from two opposite and distinct causes.—The excessive cravings, malignance, desires and indulgences, of some, induce them to *suspect* that their neighbours and fellow-beings are dictated by the same evil inclined impulse or inclination as themselves ; and those of the most virtuous habits and disposition, may be *taught* to consider certain characters, and appearances, with scrupulous apprehensions.

Hence, some people can hardly be persuaded to take sufficient precautions against the hypocrisy, treachery and malice of their fellow-beings. Honest and reasonably disposed, themselves, they

are naturally inclined to consider others so, too—until they have learned otherwise : while others, urged by the unceasing dictates of a malignant and corrupt temper, habit or disposition, are suspicious, without just or reasonable cause. Rogues or made fools, themselves, they are apt to think the world so, too.

Mankind seldom *declare* any thing, which they do not know, believe, or hope to be true. Hence, if a person say you will be beat, in a particular suit at law, or that you will be unsuccessful, or any way unfortunate, in any particular interest, enterprise or undertaking, it is evident he has knowledge of some particular facts or circumstances to justify his belief, or that he only *HOPES* the result will be as he has declared. In either of the former cases, it is obviously his duty, as a neighbour, good citizen, or fellow-being, to explain himself, and give the particular facts, or *reasons* on which he founds his belief ; but, if he has knowledge of any thing that would justify his predictions, and withholds the same from you, or if he only *hopes* the result will be as he has declared, in either case, the arts are base and unmanly.

In this way, people frequently betray a malicious or unfriendly disposition, without being fully sensible of their inconsistency.

As mankind become depraved in mind, or lose their faculties of reason, just so in proportion do they generally profess to *hate* those of an opposite character. Hence lunatics or mad men, often strive to injure their natural and best friends ; and hence vicious and corrupt characters, generally study to annoy the most virtuous and best people in society. But it is evident that the hatred of the latter, proceeds, rather from fear and *policy*, than from a sense of any thing that is really bad in human virtue and excellence. Extreme ignorance and depravity cannot bear the light and contrast of wisdom and virtue. A corrupt and depraved monster, sickens at the very thoughts of an excellent and upright man. They hypocritically profess to hate, that which they actually admire, and even *envy*, but which they have neither the courage, wisdom, nor patience, to attain. Vicious and depraved characters, dread the contrast of truth and virtue, because it exposes

their crookedness and inferiority. But when any thing is really bad in its nature and tendency, we hate it, sincerely.

Hence, too, bad governments, or corrupt and unprincipled men in power, generally study to annoy and sacrifice the *best men* in society, for the gratification and benefit of *the worst*—sacrifice virtue, industry, and true merit, to pamper and indulge indolence, vice and folly.

Fruits of political imbecility and corruption.

In some places, men get rid of their debts, by *their own acts* of insolvency.

In such cases, the individual who thinks proper to fail, generally selects two or three of his particular friends, to whom he privately assigns, what he pleases to call his property, for distribution among his creditors, according as he has chose to *class* or rate their particular claims. And thus, in some places, every bankrupt or failing character, *makes a law particularly to suit himself!* If any of the creditors refuse to abide by his law—that is, if they object to take the amount, or proportion of property assigned for them, and give up or discharge their claims, they are generally made to understand, that, if they persist in their determination, they will lose the *whole* of their claim, as the debtor will consume the property in his expenses of living, and in fighting them in law, if they attempt to enforce a collection of their dues.

Notwithstanding all this indulgence to bankrupts, insolvents, or *failing characters*, some have the hypocrisy and impudence to complain, and whine about their hard case, and style themselves unfortunate insolvent *debtors*—but seldom a word do we hear about the truly unfortunate and abused *creditors*, who are continually *swindled* out of their property, in this way.

After all this, if an honest creditor or other person has the discernment to detect the knavery and hypocrisy of a swindling debtor, and makes the facts known to his neighbors; or if any one has the courage to make frequent and special notice of the knav-

ery and fraud of individuals in such cases—perhaps their retiring from business upon a fortune thus swindled out of their poor creditors ; or if a cheated creditor or other person has the spirit to resent the insolence, haughtiness or *airs* of some of these exonerated bankrupts soon after their pretended misfortunes ; it is quite probable, by so doing, where, and while such a loose state of morals and of the laws, or their execution exist, (actually *encouraging* swindling,) he may be threatened with some outrage or infliction of the *club law*.

There is no considerable body of men often assembled in this country, more puffed for their talents, learning, experience and patriotism, than those who have had the principal making and alteration of our *constitutions*—(who are mostly lawyers ;) and yet, if a dozen farmers and mechanics, of good common sense and information, could not be found in almost any populous county, that could have devised a more just and efficient rule for appointing senators for congress, than appears in practice, of late, in several of our state legislatures, they certainly ought to be pitied for their ignorance and want of capacity.

When the two houses of a state legislature disagree in their choice of a senator for congress, let there be a joint ballot—and especially if the *few* persist in attempts to govern the many ; and if there is no one who has a majority of the whole number of votes given in joint ballot on the first vote, then let the second vote be for one of the *three* highest candidates, and the third for one of the *two* highest ; and if there should possibly be an exact tie in any case or stage of the business, let it be decided by the casting vote of the presiding officer.

This would afford a just, expeditious and sure mode of electing senators for congress ; and which I recommend to the people of Pennsylvania, New-York, Connecticut, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, and some other states.

Some think we have got a new fangled aristocracy organizing in this country—the *few* striving to controul the many, by a combination of privileged interests, and an obstinate adherence to their own will.

King-craft, priest-craft, and other hypocritical artifices of unprincipled and designing men, has *perverted* the true meaning and proper application of words to their base and crooked designs and purposes. Thus, in the true style of this language and policy, we find rakes, profligates and libertines, called *high* fellows—when in strict truth and veracity, they are *low* characters; and when a person is enticed or prompted to a base action, it is called, in this language, putting them *up* to it—just as if vice was the upward, and virtue the downward way of life. Those, too, who have taken the lead in playing the devil with mankind, have sometimes assumed the titles of (His) “*holiness*”; “*Most Catholic*” (majesty); “*Most Christian*”—(His) “*excellency*”—(His) “*grace*”—“*Right reverend*”—“*Right honourable*”—“*Most worshipful*,” and the like hypocritical, absurd and pernicious perversions of the true meaning and proper application of words.

It appears quite common, I would almost say *fashionable*, with some people—who profess to lament the ruinous excitements and indulgences in lottery gambling, and drunkenness, to impute the evil to “*the rabble*”—(just as if they ruled in society,) and say there is no remedy for the evils, in the present state of our political affairs, as it would render *unpopular*, whoever should undertake to make or enforce good and wholesome laws and regulations for their correction. The simple truth is, the farmers and mechanics, who constitute three-fourths of our freemen or electors, generally are subjected to the most burdens and other injuries, by the progress of these evil excitements and indulgences; and nine-tenths of whom are interested in their correction and restraint, and wherever their interests and wishes have been duly consulted and regarded, the business has been effectually done.

The people of the state of New-York, in order to regulate and restrain their legislators more effectually in the performance of their duty and prevent further mischief, have expressly forbid them, by the provisions of their new constitution, from granting any more *lotteries*. This language is unequivocal of the virtue and good sense of the people, when and wherever they are duly consulted and regarded.

In order to understand this business fairly, we must see who—what *profession*, *class* of men, or *persons* individually or collectively, are instrumental, or INTERESTED in furnishing the means of excessive drinking, and gambling, and in the fruits of intemperance generally—in the promotion of human ignorance ? poverty ? ill health ? embarrassments ? crimes ? and degradation ?—Who are they ? Surely not the farmers and mechanics, who are interested in directly the reverse. *Their* interest and true glory chiefly depends on the *general* prevalence of human knowledge, sobriety, industry, prosperity and happiness.

TRUE COURAGE, is *presence of mind*, wisely exercised in perilous situations, or exerted in cases of extreme danger.

It mainly consists in encountering dangers *understandingly*—necessarily, and wisely, to remove some existing evil, or to combat and ward off impending injuries, or to guard against approaching troubles, and finally to gain relief, security, or some benefit, by resolute and discerning exertions.

To encounter hazards *ignorantly*, or *unnecessarily*, evinces stupidity and folly, or any thing, rather than true bravery.

A truly brave action, is founded in superior virtue and wisdom.

An honest and well informed man, wisely acting in a good cause, feels a *conscientious* approbation and support, that makes him resolute, bold and determined. But a person knowingly acting against the cause of justice and humanity, often trembles at the mere rustling of a leaf.

NATIONAL GLORY, is the just fruits of superior virtue and knowledge, in a nation or people. A true pride of character, or an exultation understandingly resulting from the possession and exercise of exalted virtue and wisdom. But to *plunder*, *slaughter*, or *enslave* our fellow-beings ; and especially because they are not so polite, accomplished, numerous, warlike or expert in the use of arms, as their assailants ; or because they were peculiarly vulnerable or exposed in their local situation, property or concerns ; or in consequence of some overruling calamity, misfortune or distress ; or from their being off their guard, or putting too much

confidence in the justice, good faith, or civilized character of their neighbours or assailants ; ought to brand a nation or people with *infamy*, rather than honour.

Extract from the published proceedings of the New-York state legislature.

“ The speaker presented a report from the clerk of Monroe county, of the number of appeals from justices’ courts made in the county, which report was made at the request of the grand jury, and by direction of the court.

The clerk reports that during the year 1826, 114 justices’ returns were filed on appeals.

Forty-two causes were tried, in which 261 witnesses were sworn.

Costs in 28 causes in which records have been filed, amount to \$1161.

In the remaining cases the probable amount of costs is \$535 44. Total \$1701 44.

And the whole amount for which verdicts were rendered is only \$545 57.

In the remaining 72 causes, which are either pending or have been settled or dismissed by the court, the probable cost is \$8 on each side, which amounts to \$1152, which sum, added to \$1701 44, makes a total of \$2852 44 ; the amount of costs on appeals in that county, in one year, besides expenses not taxable in loss of time, of parties and witnesses.”

Here may be seen the ruinous progress of litigation, as cultivated and managed, from small beginnings, by persons *interested* in instituting, perplexing and prolonging, unnecessary, vexatious and expensive law squabbles.

Had it not been for the aid, advice or design of lawyers ; and perhaps a few others like themselves, interested or habituated in promoting unnecessary, perplexing, and expensive law systems and proceedings, probably most of the suits never would have been brought ; and many of the rest of the cases would have been settled, or the actions complied with without trial or any actual and serious *resistance to justice* ; and few or none of the par-

ties would have been so unwise as to have appealed, and particularly under such vexatious, expensive and ruinous circumstances.

Every unnecessary or injudicious delegation or grant of authority, has a general tendency to *diminish* the liberty, influence and power of those who give it, and to *increase* the power and influence of those who receive it. Hence it is bad policy for individuals, and for communities in general, to delegate more, or higher authorities, than is actually necessary for judiciously conducting their respective concerns.

A virtuous and enlightened people, would therefore be cautious how they granted special privileges to individuals, singly, or collectively, and how they enlarged the authority of men for public purposes. Licenses, investing individuals with special indulgences, and those incorporating associations of men with peculiar privileges, for whatever purpose ; and commissions, and acts investing individuals with special authorities for public purposes, are cases most commonly indulged.

In delegating authority to the federal government, the states should grant no more, nor greater powers, than what were actually necessary for the judicious management of the general concern ; and these, as well as all other grants of public authority, should be correctly and explicitly defined.

Besides, every additional grant of power, generally increases the expectations and demands of those invested with them. Men will very naturally expect an increased rate of compensation, as you elevate their rank, power or employment. Greater wages will generally be expected for serving the public, than for like performances for individuals ; and more for fulfilling an engagement under the national government, than for a like office or agency rendered to a state.

Hence, although the public means are far greater than those of any individual, it often costs the public much more to carry into operation an undertaking, than it would a private individual, or even a common company concern. The Cumberland road is a memorable evidence of public extravagance and mismanagement.

In the ancient world, to *discourage* lives and deeds of considerable virtue and public usefulness—to render actions of distinguished beneficence and humanity, unnecessarily difficult and hazardous, *cruelties* were practised, and *martyrdom* generally closed the lives of public benefactors ; and, after they were *dead*, the knaves and tyrants of society, sometimes *sainted* them, or otherways hypocritically exalted their character as much *above* their actual merits, as they had kept them below, while living.—This was done, as is even practised at the present day, by some, to *hoist* actual merit out of the common reach—to check the progress of true *civilization*—a correct knowledge and practice of truth, justice, virtue, and human improvement.

Some biographers, from the same error, sometimes attempt to make out, in the life and character of those who have acquired distinguished excellence, that in their birth or *nature*, something extraordinary had been indicated about them. As much as to say, to those who have none of these wonderful indications of nature in their favour, that it would be vain or useless for them to *attempt* the acquisition of any considerable degree of merit, or human excellence !

Satan, certainly could not have devised a more efficient method of *discouraging* emulation to deeds and lives of distinguished virtue and human excellence.

Imputing corruption, deceit, or evil designs, to the human *heart*, is absurd, since the heart is not an organ of perception, comparison and reflection, susceptible of entertaining *ideas*, thought, motive, choice, intention or design. The *head* contains the organs of perception, thought, reason, will and design, that chiefly guide and rule the *voluntary* actions of rational beings.

“ Reason’s comparing balance rules the whole.”

It is the *mind*—the human *understanding*, that is susceptible of corruption, by being impressed with false ideas, and misdirected by hypocritical examples, and thereby perverting the human faculties to base designs and purposes.

Malice and treachery, are harboured, cultivated, and directed, *by the human will*. “The *mind* is the standard of the man.”

Passions are the elements of life—the current and the wind that propels, while reason hands the sails and guides the helm of life : or, to use a more modern emblem—the heart is the *boiler*, that unconsciously ejects the propelling fluid, and the head is the *steward, engineer, and pilot*, that provides fuel and water, regulates the operations of the machinery, and guides the helm.

To impute, motive or design to the current, wind, or steamer, would be ridiculous, since they are incapable of reason or understanding—like the simple organ through which the invigorating fluid of animal life involuntarily rushes into its arterial conductors.

Imputing moral depravity and imperfection to the works and involuntary operations of nature, is charging the CREATOR with turpitude, injustice, and imperfection ; and, of course, exonerating the creature from the charge of moral depravity, corruption and evil designs.

With individuals, as with nations, and communities of long standing, the *head*, and not the body, is the general seat of corruption.

Properly speaking, the *heart* of a healthy and perfectly made man, is never bad—but the MIND is often shockingly corrupted, the understanding bewildered and depraved, and the human faculties thereby perverted to base designs and purposes.

Sailors call a healthy and generous minded man, a fellow of good *pluck* : this appears more to the purpose, as a well constructed and healthy state of the *liver*, and *lights* or lungs, (which together with the heart constitute the pluck,) materially affects our temper and disposition.

Finally—“the MIND is the standard of the man”—the centre and seat of intellectual knowledge—the ruler of the voluntary actions of all rational beings.

The Power and Worth of a Good Moral Sense and Habit.

PRACTICE is far more powerful than *precept* : for although we may specify very correctly the obligations and duties of human beings, yet the letter of the law may be evaded ; while the example and practice of just and wise rules, carries a language and force that cannot easily be mistaken or evaded.

In proportion as a sound and valuable coin is put into circulation, the debased currency disappears ; and truth, justice, and merit prosper.

When respectable married ladies refused to associate with kept mistresses, it effected far more than the written law to break up the custom.

If mechanics and manufacturers would resolve not to encourage runaway apprentices—by refusing to employ those who come to them without a proper discharge from the obligations of their apprenticeship, and a certificate of good character, it would do more to restrain giddy-headed youth, and to maintain the fidelity and respectability of minor apprenticeships, than perhaps all our legal regulations, without such a practice.

Were I to choose the condition of my birth, education and fortune, I would prefer to be born of honest parents, in moderate circumstances, and to possess a good constitution, and natural talents, and to be brought up in habits of virtue, industry and usefulness, and regularly to increase my information and fortune, with the progress of years. If a person was wisely and properly educated and instructed, they might be taught to have rational ideas of adversity and prosperity, without experiencing any considerable degree of the actual miseries of life ; and thus their whole lives might be rendered one continual scene of temperate and rational enjoyments.

Acts of incorporation, for companies allowed to contract debts upon the faith of their alleged capital, should never exempt the private property of the stock holders from the final fulfilment of

their engagements ; for if there is no danger of their failure, the responsibility is merely nominal ; but if there is an actual hazard in assuring the fulfilment of their engagements, certainly the risk ought to fall upon those who are to be immediately benefitted by the concern ; more especially as they have the keeping, management and controul of the property and business of the concern.

If banking privileges are really *worth* considerable sums of money, why do our public servants *give* them away ? and especially for the particular benefit of a few wealthy or speculative individuals ? Why not rather *sell* the privileges for the public benefit, at what they are actually worth, under such regulations and restrictions as amply to secure the public against any losses or injury from loose or improper transactions.

It is very easy to lay banking and other company concerns, under such restrictions and regulations, as to guard the public against any serious injury from their transactions ; and no doubt this would always be the case, if those who have the chief management in making and administering the laws, had not, unfortunately, a different and distinct interest from the common good.—We have heard no complaints of late years from the numerous banks and other company concerns in the state of Rhode-Island ; and most probably because *the people*, and not the *lawyers*, chiefly govern in that state ; and, of course, endeavour to make and administer laws for their own general use, protection, and the promotion of the common good. This is a proud monument to the justice and wisdom of the people of Rhode-Island, more especially at this unparalleled period of *bank and other company swindling*—1825-6.

Suppose the laws should restrict the holding of bank stock—so that not less than a certain number should be allowed to controul the stock of any banking concern—varying their number in some measure to the amount of capital invested in the institution ; that no person should be allowed to hold bank stock to more than one third, or one half the amount of the free and clear property they

were actually worth ; and that their private property should be holden to an equal amount of their bank stock, for the final payment of the debts of the concern.

We employ public agents to *inspect* provisions, lumber, and a variety of articles of merchandize, to guard the public against fraud in their quantity, quality, and condition ; while the issuing of *bank bills*—the currency of the country—the common reward for labour—the most sought for exchange for property generally—as to their essential *quality* and fitness for public intelligence and security, and the *amount* put in circulation from each bank respectively, are pretty much left to the ignorance and cupidity of interested, designing and irresponsible individuals, without an efficient public inspection and controul.

If there was a uniform stamp—an accurate impression of considerable size, of some kind of work the most difficult to counterfeit, put on all the bills of every bank and denomination exactly alike—under the inspection and controul of a public agent, to serve as a kind of public test, or general standard for genuine bills, lawfully issued, it would be of great use and importance to the public generally. Magistrates, and the public in general might be thus furnished with a convenient and infallible guide to detect counterfeits by ; the banks, as well as individuals, might be easily restrained, by this regulation, from all unlawful issues of bills.

If these hints were duly attended to, the good people of this country would soon cease to be *robbed* of their earnings and property, and the weak and unwary corrupted, by the arts and efforts of *counterfeiters*, *bank-swindlers*, and their aids and participators.

Adventuring in lotteries, is a kind of *secret* and *silent* gambling, that tends powerfully—and particularly where it is *encouraged*, to the waste and destruction of the very elements of genuine republicanism—the justice, equality and self-dependence of the people—by deluding, impoverishing and corrupting the *many* for the benefit of the *few* ; and finally plunging its hapless victims, from

a condition of comparative virtue and self-dependence, into a state of despair, depravity, poverty and servitude.

Paris, and other fashionable hotbeds and nurseries of vice and monarchy in Europe, make great use of *lotteries* to promote their objects; and no doubt many of the leading promoters of lotteries in this country, at the present day, hypocritically aim at the depravity and downfall of a virtuous and free people.

The cause of truth and virtue, is so self-evident, and manifestly reasonable, just and humane, that even knaves and tyrants, in pursuing their unjust and cruel purposes, upon an open and *learned* scale, generally have to resort to some pretext of error or wickedness, in their intended victims, for which they are *professedly* convicting and punishing them.

We have had *two* revolutions in this country—the first took the rule from the British king and nobles, and left it chiefly in the hands of *lawyers* and others who composed the natural aristocracy of our own country; the second, although designed to disarm this aristocratic league of privileged interests and individuals, in favour of just and equal measures, and place the power of government firmly in the hands of *the people*, was, nevertheless, mainly defeated, by the hypocritical arts and management of *pretended* republicans and patriots—who, while they openly professed to be labouring *for the people*, were secretly striving to delay, pervert, or defeat, every measure and attempt to complete the reform intended; and have finally left the government of the whole United States, pretty much in the hands of the *lawyers* and their aristocratic confederates in interest and policy, with their several tools and underlings.

A *third* revolution, it is hoped and trusted, will soon place the power of government effectually in the hands of THE PEOPLE, and guard them against any further dominion and controul, of any distinct interest, profession, or class of men. This, it is hoped will be effected peaceably, by the force of truth, justice and reason, and without bloodshed or violence.

"In the vice chancellor's court, Great-Britain, a suit lately ended *with the consent of both parties*, which has lasted *fifty* years.

"The statutes of England occupy 45,000 close quarto pages, and the reports of common law decisions continually referred to, are contained in no less than 35,000 other pages. So that the evidential books of legal authority consist of about 100,000 pages. These books are of course exclusive of the different abridgments and treatises of law, and arguments and comments on legal decisions. Of these, Vesey's Comyn's and Bacon's works, contain a quantity of type equal to 200,000 common octavo pages!"—*Niles' Register*.

These are among the numerous facts and examples concerning the character and operation of the *British law system*, which many of our lawyers are endeavouring to patronize and follow; while others, however, of the better sort, (who deserve every aid, protection and encouragement, and the highest honour and reward for their noble conduct,) have devoted themselves to the preparation and establishment of a truly *civilized and republican code* of law.

Many of our courts, and particularly that of the United States, is so tedious, and exorbitantly expensive, as to prove ruinous to many who have concerns therein, and is far beyond the means and use of many who have occasion for its protection. The expenses of one of the parties to a suit of ordinary magnitude in this court, has been known to be as high as TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS!

"The present Attorney General of England, in a speech relative to the Chancery Court, delivered on the 22d of May last, (1827,) observed that there were then six thousand certificated attorneys in the country, each making, on an average, a thousand pounds sterling a year by his profession." (Amounting to over *twenty-six and a half millions of dollars*!)

Is the American press *free*, to promulgate every good and wholesome truth that concerns the people at large—or is there a

secret censorship and controul exerted over it, by any profession class, league or combination of men, who have an interest different and distinct from the general good ? and who finally manage to *ensnare, intimidate* and prevent the exercise of a necessary and manly freedom of the press.

It highly concerns our good people to see to this matter, in earnest, for themselves, and before it be too late. If the press is not sold, *enslaved*, or any way prevented from doing its duty to the people, let it speak out boldly and answer for itself. There is every reasonable encouragement for the attempt. By maintaining the *truth* and *usefulness* of printed matter, enhances its value, and increases a general desire for reading. Which tends greatly to promote the business, honour and usefulness of printing. An article or product, will generally diminish, both in value, and demand, in proportion as it is adulterated, or any way debased or injured, in quality and worth.

“ During the period which elapsed between the overthrow of the British government in the United States and the establishment of the various systems of government, in the various states of the union, there was a pretty strong current, in favour of a proposition, that there is, in the nature of human society a foundation for the three-fold divisions of the *one*, the *few*, and the *many*. ” — NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

Laws, and appointments to office, made by the public servants, should be faithfully designed for the promotion of the best good of the *many*—the people, *the whole community together*—instead of the aristocracy—the *few* individuals who generally study to controul the making and administration of the laws, and the appointments to office, to favour their own privileged interests and designs.

When the learned and wealthy form aristocratic leagues ; and when any body or number of men, secretly or openly join for the purpose of taking unjust and undue advantages of their fellow-men ; and whenever men combine their power and efforts to-

wrong, distress or any way injure a fellow-being, the common people should unite against them—the friends of justice and humanity should exert their best efforts to counteract and defeat the design ; and finally to establish and maintain, good and equal rules for the government of the whole. This is just, and absolutely necessary for the preservation of human liberty, and the rights of mankind in general.

Some people say, "*we must take the world as it is*"—just as if it were not the duty of every good man, and every good woman, to *counteract* the efforts of those, who from ignorance or design, are labouring to make the world worse ; and finally to exert ourselves to *improve* the general character and condition of mankind.

THE END.



RELATIVE HUMIDITY is the ratio of the actual amount of water vapor in the air to the amount which would be present if the air were saturated at the same temperature. It is expressed as a percentage. For example, if the air contains half as much water vapor as it would hold if saturated, the relative humidity is 50%.

RELATIVE HUMIDITY is a function of temperature and the amount of water vapor in the air. As the temperature of the air increases, the capacity of the air to hold water vapor increases. Therefore, if the amount of water vapor in the air remains constant, the relative humidity will decrease as the temperature increases.

W. L. G. Thompson

1860

1860

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS

WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN
THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY
WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH
DAY AND TO \$1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY
OVERDUE.

ICLF (N)

MAR 10 1966

MAY 13 1966 35

APR 29 '66 3RCD

YB 07242

58098

HN61

B7

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

